

MEMOIRS
OF
GENERAL DUMOURIER.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

... ET VITAM IMPENDERE VERO.

Tom. Sel. D.

TRANSLATED BY JOHN FENWICK.

PART II.

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MEMOIRS

OF

GENERAL DUMOURIER

WRITTEN BY HISSELIUS

AT THE UNIVERSITY OF

Vol. 2. IN.



ARTIST'S COPY
The general officers of the
Department of the Interior

PRINTED FOR G. AND G. KEARNEY
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MEMOIRS
OF
GENERAL DUMOURIER.

FOR THE YEAR 1793.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Plan of the Campaign.

WE are now entering upon the history of a campaign, more rapid, more varied, and perhaps more important, in its events, than any of former or later times. The nature of the campaign was not foreseen till the first week of February; the plan was conceived and arranged between the 7th and the

22d of that month; and the campaign finished on the 5th of the following April.

The history of this short period, offers to the contemplation of the military man, Cities taken in defiance of immense inundations, a great battle, a variety of engagements, and a retreat which excited the astonishment of the generals of the enemy, and from which they could not withhold their praise: It exhibits an example of the two species of war, the offensive, and defensive: And it may be said to have involved consequences that will decide the fate of France, and perhaps that of Europe.

Nor is this history less interesting to the philosopher, whom it will confirm in the opinion, that the destiny of empires is often dependent on circumstances that are apparently inconsiderable; and that the character and fortune of one man may decide the fate of a nation. In the preceding year, General Dumourier had preserved the independence of France, by his success in the Plains of Champagne, and rendered her name illustrious in those of Belgium: for, at that period, the greatness of the danger which threatened
France

France united all minds under his standard, and compelled the nation to display her energy under the direction of his counsels. In the period we are now considering, the situation and character of the French people were changed. The nation, or rather those who governed and misled the nation, intoxicated with success, and blinded by their crimes, no longer listened to the general, who would now have saved his countrymen, both from a foreign yoke, and from the tyranny of their own mistaken passions.

He was not seconded in his efforts. He was not obeyed. He was opposed, and betrayed; and his campaign was unfortunate, notwithstanding his exertions to turn the fortune of war in his favour. On the point of conquering Holland, the conquest was snatched from his hands. He formed a second plan, and victory was torn from him by his own troops. In the midst of a retreat, that was as successfully conducted as it was bloody and destructive, he projected another design, which preserved his army, and arrested the ruin of Belgium, which, otherwise, would have been complete. But this design fell short of its

greatest object, the deliverance of France : and, in that, it was defeated by the fierce pride of the Convention, and by the fickleness of his troops ; and General Dumourier was compelled to quit his army, and to seek a retreat among strangers, who could not forbear to esteem him.

Thenceforth, the French were no longer the same people. In the soldiery, savage rage succeeded valour ; there was neither talent in the plan of the war, nor conduct in its execution ; the French slew and were slain, without remorse, or consideration. It was not war they carried on ; and the carnage would already have been terminated, if the force that opposed them were that of a single people, or were not rendered ineffectual by the clashing of various interests and counsels.

The situation of General Dumourier was embarrassing, when he knew that England and Holland were on the point of adding their forces to those of the other enemies of France. If the persons who were at the head of affairs, had been well informed and prudent men, he directly would have advised them to evacuate the Netherlands, which could no longer be preserved ;

preserved; and to post the troops behind the fortified places of the department of the North, holding for a while the banks of the Scheld, and the citadel of Namur. But this reasonable proposition would have been regarded as proceeding from cowardice or treachery; and would have brought the general to the scaffold. Or, if it had been accepted, it would have delivered the general into the hands of tyrants whom it was his object to crush, for the safety and happiness of his country. Entering France with an enemy in pursuit of him, and with the appearance of a flight, he would have instantly lost his military reputation, which was only to be preserved by signal successes; and his fate would have been at the disposal of the Jacobins of Paris, whom this retreat would have reinforced with the whole amount of his army. He could not therefore extricate himself from this desperate situation, but by the hardiest and most decisive means. His military fame and the celerity of his movements, could alone open him the way to the supply of all that was wanting to his army. Clothing, accoutrements, horses, arms, provisions, money, all were to be

found in Holland; and there, he was compelled to seek them. He conceived the design of conquering Holland by a daring blow; and we will now rapidly review his plan, and his resources.

The Dutch refugees had formed a small revolutionary committee at Antwerp, where was also the Dutch legion. The committee possessed more zeal than ability; and, although they expended considerable sums of money in maintaining a secret correspondence with the different Provinces of the Dutch Republic, the information which the general received through their means was extremely deficient, especially respecting the military state of that country. All that could be relied on with certainty was, that the party of the patriots was very considerable: particularly at Amsterdam, Haerlem, Dort, and throughout Zeeland. The general pretended to reassume the consideration of the plan, which the committee had laid before him at Paris, of making an irruption into Zeeland. He affected to examine it minutely in presence of the committee, and feigned to give it his approbation; in order to cover a plan more bold
in

in appearance, but in truth more certain of success, because it appeared to be more impracticable. He did not disclose that design to any other persons than to Mr. Koch, and Mr. de Nis, whom he thought deserving of his entire confidence; and whose zeal, probity, strength of mind, and love of their country, entitled them to be the deliverers of their fellow citizens.

The plan for the invasion of Zealand, was as follows: The refugees had learnt that the Stadtholder had formed the design of fortifying the Island of Walcheren, as a place of retreat for the States General and the members of the government, in case the French should enter the country, and should be joined by the people, whom the government mistrusted. The Dutch Committee proposed that a considerable body of men should depart from Antwerp, and proceed, with as great secrecy and dispatch as possible, by Sandvliet to the island of South Beveland, and from thence to the island of Walcheren, and, seizing upon Middleburg and Flushing, should make themselves masters of that latter island. The garrisons of those two towns, it is true, did not

amount to more than twelve or fifteen hundred men, and were raw undisciplined troops. But if the inhabitants had not joined their deliverers, the French soldiers would infallibly have been cut off. There was nothing to prevent the island receiving succours to double the amount of the French detachment; there were already several English frigates at Flushing; and the Dutch had a squadron of armed vessels in the Scheld, lying under the fortress of Batz, a league below Lillo, which would entirely have cut off the retreat of the detachment to the main land.

No success could be expected in this expedition, without such promptitude and exactness in the execution, as the general could not expect either from his own troops, or those of the Dutch patriots. He had not a single general officer under his command to whom he could confide so dangerous an enterprise. He could not abandon the command of the main army, to undertake the expedition himself. Had he yielded to the opinion of the Dutch patriots, he would certainly have been led into an unsuccessful enterprise; and this unfortunate check in the
beginning

beginning of the campaign would have completed the ruin of his small army, consisting of new troops, that had already suffered much by his absence, and were shortly after beaten, discouraged, and almost dispersed on the Roer and the Meuse.

But if, by the chance that belongs to military movements, this expedition had been successful, however brilliant it might have been, it would have produced no real benefit to the general. On the contrary, it would have deprived him of five or six thousand of his troops, who would have been separated from him by an arm of the sea, and all the places of Dutch Flanders: leaving him without a force sufficient to undertake any thing further.

The better to conceal his real designs, however, he professed to adopt that plan of attacking Holland, and he made some dispositions as if he was about to undertake it seriously. He had, at Antwerp, some small vessels under the command of captain Moulton, an American officer in the French service, who had assisted in the taking of the citadel of Antwerp. This small squadron consisted

consisted of the Ariel of 24 guns, a brig of 14 guns, and three gun-boats. He ordered these vessels to be fitted out, to proceed to fort Lillo, and there to cast anchor. He directed a furnace to be constructed on each of the gun-boats, for the purpose of heating balls. He commanded the fort of Lillo, and that of Liefkenshoeck, and the citadel of Antwerp, to be furnished with provisions, and put in a state to sustain a siege. He assembled, at Antwerp, all the Dutch vessels that on the declaration of war had been detained in the canals of the Scheld, and ordered them to be prepared to serve as fire-ships.

He wished it to be believed that his object was to burn the Dutch vessels lying at anchor under the fort of Batz ; and to seize upon that fort, which mounted forty guns. The Dutch vessels retired to Ramekens. In short, every thing seemed to indicate, during several days, that the general's movements were directed against Zealand; and he gave the enemy reason to imagine that the campaign would open by the invasion of that country. Meanwhile, the general's thoughts were wholly occupied

occupied with his own plan; which was extremely simple, although, had it never been attempted, it must have appeared wholly impracticable. This plan was, to make his way with a body of troops to the Moor Dyke, deceiving and evading the garrisons of Breda, and Gertruydenberg, on his right; Bergen-up-Zoom, Steenberg, Klundert, and Williamstadt, on his left: and, passing the arm of the sea which runs between the Moor-dyke and Dort, and which is about two leagues in breadth, to land at Dort: where being arrived he should be in the heart of Holland, and would have no obstacles to encounter in marching by Rotterdam, Delft, the Hague, Leyden, and Haerlem, to Amsterdam. By this plan, he would take all the strong places of Holland in the rear. Meanwhile General Miranda, with a detachment of the grand army, was to bombard Maestricht, and Venloo; and, as soon as he should know that General Dumourier had reached Dort, he was to leave General Valence to continue the siege of Maestricht, and to march with 25,000 men against Nimeguen, where General Dumourier was to join him by the route of Utrecht.

This

This plan, executed with rapidity, would have had little serious difficulty to encounter, since the Stadtholder neither had an army assembled, nor had adopted any settled plan of defence ; and since, of all the enterprizes that might be undertaken by Dumourier, this was the least to be expected : for it seemed to be no better than an attempt to march an army *through the eye of a needle* *.

Dumourier's next design was, as soon as he should be master of Holland, to send the battalions of National guards back into Belgium ; to assemble an army entirely composed of troops of the line, and commanded by generals of whose fidelity he was assured, and to compel the States General of the United Provinces, to order a surrender of all their towns ; to make no changes in the government, but such as should be indispensibly necessary ; to dissolve the Dutch Revolutionary Committee, to the members of which he had already signified that, in case of success, they might be severally appointed to the public situations of their respective Provinces, supposing them to possess the confidence of their fellow citizens ;

* These are the words of Dumourier.

to preserve the Dutch Republic from the tyranny of the commissioners of the National Convention, and from the influence of Jacobinism ; to fit out a fleet with all possible expedition at Rotterdam, in Zealand, and in the Texel, in order to seize upon the Dutch settlements in India, and to secure the possession of them by strong garrisons ; to offer a perfect neutrality to the English ; to station, in the country of Zutphen and Dutch Guelders, an army of observation consisting of 30,000 men ; to furnish money and arms for the raising a body of 30,000 men in the countries of Antwerp, the two Flanders, and Campine, on whose attachment he could rely ; to permit the French to occupy no other part of the Netherlands, than the country of Leige ; to annul, throughout Belgium, the decree of the 15th of December ; to invite the people of that country to assemble at Alost, Antwerp, or Ghent, for the purpose of forming on a solid basis such a government as should be agreeable to them ; and after that to assemble an army of Belgians of 40,000 men, composed of battalions of 800 men each, together with a body of cavalry. Dumourier further
designed

designed to offer a suspension of arms to the Imperialists; and, in case of its being rejected, to raise an army of 150,000 men in order to drive them beyond the Rhine; but if it were accepted he hoped to gain time and means to execute the rest of his plan, which was, either to form a Republic of the eighteen Provinces of the Netherlands, if that should be agreeable to the people, or to make an offensive and defensive alliance between the Republic of the Seven United Provinces and that of Belgium, and to raise an army of 80,000 men in the two countries for their joint defence, till the conclusion of the war; to invite France to enter into an alliance with the two Republics, and to put an end to her anarchy by re-adopting the constitution of 1789; and, in case of France refusing to accede to this proposal, to march to Paris with an army composed of the French troops of the line, and a body of 40,000 Dutch and Belgians, in order to dissolve the National Convention, and annihilate the power of the Jacobins.

Such were the outlines of General Dumourier's plan, which was communicated only to four persons. It will appear visionary to the

the reader; but, being founded on the circumstances of the times, and on well combined calculations, it could not have failed of success, if the most disastrous events, entirely unconnected with the conduct and arrangements of General Dumourier, had not broken all his measures, and forced him to sacrifice all his hopes to the immediate safety of the grand army, on the point of being entirely destroyed, by the mismanagement of the officers who commanded under him.

C H A P. II.

Preparations for the Expedition against Holland. Orders to the grand Army. Advice given by General Dumourier to the Minister of War. General Thouvenot and the Commissary Petit-Jean at Antwerp. Orders for the raising of Battallions in Belgium. General Valence at Antwerp. Loan. Manifesto.

GENERAL Dumourier, having taken his resolution, may be still said to have had all his means to create. At Antwerp, there were two battalions of national gendarmerie, consisting of 350 men each, who were dangerous only to their officers and the peaceable inhabitants of the city, being the most detestable and undisciplined soldiers that ever entered the field of battle. These ferocious Janissaries received each 40 sols per day in specie without deduction; appointed their

own officers ; and committed every kind of crime. The general, after passing them in review, declared in the strongest terms, that, should they continue to commit the excesses of which they were accused, or to be guilty of any disobedience of orders, he would instantly send them back to France. This body of gendarmerie was composed of the ancient French guards. There were also, at Antwerp, one hundred and fifty dragoons of the 20th regiment ; three battallions of national guards ; and about two thousand of the Dutch legion, two hundred of which were horse. Twelve battalions of national guards, newly raised, and having neither fuses, accoutrements, nor shoes, were quartered in the cities and villages of West Flanders ; and had no idea that they should be obliged to take the field till the month of May.

Cannon, mortars, magazines, money, commissaries, together with their assistants, were altogether wanting. But there was not a moment to be lost. The rashness of the national convention, in declaring war against Holland, had warned the Dutch to prepare for their defence ; and, unless the general had

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attacked

attacked them with the utmost celerity, the enterprise would have become utterly chimerical. And, indeed, had the Dutch prepared for their defence with as great activity as the general used for attacking them, the project must have been unsuccessful.

General Miranda had remained at the head of the army of the North during the whole winter. This general was a Peruvian by birth; and was a man of capacity, and extensive information. He was better versed in the theory of war than any other of the French generals, but he was not equally well versed in the practice. His intimacy with Pethion had been the cause of his entering the service the preceeding year, as major general. He joined Dumourier at the camp of Grandpré; and had been of great service to him, in the different attacks of the Prussians, particularly in the retreat of the 15th of September. But he had a haughtiness of disposition, and a bluntness of manner, which begat him many enemies; and he was unfit to command the French, whose confidence it is impossible to gain but by good humour and a conduct expressive of respect for them.

Dumourier

Dumourier had procured him the appointment of lieutenant-general, in the month of November 1792; had conferred upon him the command of the army of the North, and had promised to obtain him the rank of general, on the first opportunity. Miranda was afterward offended that Valence, an older lieutenant-general than himself, (having commanded with great reputation general Kellermann's advanced guard, and several detached corps, during the campaign of 1792) should have been raised to the rank of general on the recommendation of Dumourier. He never forgave this preference; but his resentment, unfortunately for France, did not display itself till the day of the battle of Nerwinde. At the time we now speak of, he still appeared full of attachment to Dumourier. And that general had written to him from Paris to make preparations for the opening of the campaign, very early in the spring, by the siege of Maestricht, in case a rupture should prove to be unavoidable with England and Holland.

Dumourier's own army was then under the command of general Lanoue, who was a very

brave and honest man. Fifty years past in the service had rendered him respectable; but had also diminished his vigour. He was assisted by general Thouvenot, an officer of very uncommon merit.

The army of general Valence was commanded, in his absence, by lieutenant-general le Veneur, a man of great courage, but of a limited capacity.

Dumourier ordered General Miranda to present himself before Maestricht with a part of his army, without too much weakening the posts on the Meuse; to reinforce himself to the number of 25 or 30,000 men drawn from the other two armies; and to communicate these orders to the respective generals, that they might contract their lines, and hold their troops in readiness to take the field, if the Imperialists, whose numbers were daily encreasing in their quarters on the Herffle, and the Prussians who were also daily receiving reinforcements at Wesel, should betray any designs of forming a junction to relieve Maestricht, which was to be expected. General Dumourier thought it prudent not to point out the position that
 2 might

might be proper for this army of observation ; and he acknowledges that, in this, he committed a great error.

In the remaining part of General Dumourier's instructions to Miranda, he confidentially unfolded his plan for attacking Holland. He desired him not to open the siege regularly before Maestricht, being too early in the season for such an undertaking, but to endeavour to carry the place by a vigorous assault with bombs and red hot balls, in the same manner as the Duke of Saxe-Teschén had attempted to carry Lisle ; and, when General Dumourier should have informed him that he had reached Dort by the Moor Dyke, to leave General Valence before Maestricht, and to proceed by forced marches to Nimeguen, passing by the frontier of the Dutchy of Cleves, in order to intercept the Prussians, if they should attempt to reach Holland before him : and, to this latter purpose, Dumourier desired him to send General Champmorin (a most able engineer) against Venloo, while Miranda should besiege Maestricht, and by that means to make himself master of the lower part of the Meuse as far as Genep.

General Dumourier confined the number of men that Miranda should employ in this expedition to 25,000 or 30,000, at the utmost, that he might not too much weaken the posts on the Meuse. He recommended the greatest dispatch in the preparations, so that Maestricht might be invested by the 12th or 15th of that month; and he appointed Lieutenant-General Bouchet, an experienced engineer, to assist Miranda in the siege.

Dumourier wrote nearly in the same terms to Lanoue and Thouvenot; enjoining them to inform the troops, that he should review them, after having visited the quarters on the lower Meuse. He wrote to Lieutenant-General Moreton, who commanded in Brussels, that he was setting off immediately for that city. And to General d'Harville, ordering him to assemble his troops at Namur on the 20th of February, as he designed to review his division on the 22d of that month. Thus, in misleading such of his generals as were not to be employed in the expedition, he effectually deceived the enemy, who were utterly at a loss to conjecture in what point he would begin the campaign.

Some

Some days after General Dumourier quitted Paris, Pache resigned the war department in order to be chosen Mayor of Paris, and was succeeded by General Bournonville, for whom Dumourier had procured the rank of lieutenant-general and afterward of General in a very short space of time. Dumourier had been used to call him his Ajax and his son. In truth he had commenced his career with great spirit, and had evinced a sincere attachment to the general. Dumourier now informed him merely, that it was his design to attack Holland, without entering into the detail of his plan, least he should be betrayed by the indiscretion or the dishonesty of the clerks of the war office.

Pache, a little while before his quitting the ministry, had ordered the demolition of the small part of the fortifications of Mons and Tournay which then remained. These imprudent orders had disgusted the inhabitants of those two cities. General Dumourier suspended the execution of the order; and, he not only desired the new minister of war to revoke it, but strongly recommended him to repair the fortifications of those two places, with the ut-

most dispatch. He also counselled him to fortify with equal speed the strong place of the castle of Huy ; to make ditches round Malines, which might easily be put into a state of defense by inundations ; to erect strong batteries at Ostend, Nieuport, and Dunkirk, in order to strengthen our frontiers on that side, in the probable case of our being obliged to evacuate Belgium. General Dumourier further advised Bournonville to complete the lines from Dunkirk to Bergues ; to form an intrenched camp at Mount Cassell ; and to fortify Orchies between Lisle, Douay, and Condé ; Bavay, as an out post to Quesnoy, between Condé and Maubeuge ; and Beaumont, between Maubeuge and Philippeville.

Such were the counsels respecting the fortifying that frontier which were given by General Dumourier, although he is accused of having betrayed his country. General Dumourier, faithfully served his country till the moment that he quitted her ; and he will again serve her, with the same zeal and fidelity, if he should ever see her governed by a King, under the sanction of a Constitution. Had his counsels been followed, the combined armies would

would have been detained longer, on the exterior frontier, by that line of posts, and would not have penetrated so easily into France.

General Dumourier also requested Bournonville to send him reinforcements of men ; and to order General D'Arçon to join him, with some able engineers, having to make a campaign that would abound in sieges. Bournonville acceded to all Dumourier's requests, as far as was in his power, with great promptitude ; and General D'Arçon arrived at the army immediately afterward.

This general, although one of the best engineers and one of the worthiest men in France, had been accused of aristocracy by the well known Prince of Hesse, a contemptible Jacobin ; and had been deprived of his command ; but General Dumourier, who had long been acquainted with his merit, restored him to the service of his country, and found him worthy of the trust reposed in him.

General de Flers commanded at Bruges. He was a brave man ; but was opinionated, and did not possess much capacity. Having received a wound with a musket ball in the camp of Maulde, Dumourier made him major-general ;
and

and afterward sent him to Bruges, to take upon him the command in West Flanders, and had given him orders to receive the reinforcement of 10,000 men, which Pache had marched into that country on the General's request.

When Dumourier arrived at Bruges, de Flers laid before him a plan which he had formed for surprising the city of Sluys. The general pretended to adopt the plan; and sent de Flers to Bournonville, with a request to give de Flers a body of 5 or 6000 men and a small train of artillery, to enable him to menace Dutch Flanders. The request was complied with, speedily and completely.

The general had no design that de Flers should attack the Dutch towns in Flanders, which it was not possible for him to take; but he placed this small body of men under his orders, to be ready to replace, on the side of Antwerp and Breda, the forces that the general should march into Holland. And he knew that the assembling this small army in the neighbourhood of Bruges would still aid in deceiving the Dutch respecting the general's designs, especially as de Flers was himself deceived,
and

and made serious preparations for his expedition.

General Dumourier had left all the officers of his staff at Liege, together with his Aids-de-camp, and was accompanied only by his faithful Baptiste. He had also left his equipage with the grand army, to favour the opinion that he designed to return ; and had only ordered a few horses to attend him at Antwerp, under pretence of visiting the cantonments on the Meuse. To form his staff therefore, he sent for four of his officers, at the head of whom he placed Colonel Thouvenot, brother to the general of the same name. This officer, who, under every circumstance, has been the zealous friend of General Dumourier, abounded in courage, information, and resources of mind. He was in an eminent degree important to the general during the campaign in Holland ; and when they quitted the army together rendered the general every service in his power.

The presence of General Thouvenot was necessary to the grand army. He was the only officer that perfectly understood the details of duty in winter quarters ; and was the only

only one that had influence enough to heal the frequent quarrels that happened among the generals. It was known that he possessed the entire confidence of Dumourier, and also that his merit entitled him to that confidence ; and, although he was not the better beloved on that account, it obtained him a greater degree of respect ; and, it being known that he was perfectly acquainted with the generals intentions, his opinions was received with the same deference that was paid to the general's orders.

There was no other Commissary with the army, than Petit-Jean, to provide magazines and every thing necessary for the siege of Maestricht, and for the cantonments between the Meuse and the Roer, and the different quarters in Belgium. It seemed imprudent to take him a moment from these multiplied concerns, before the arrival of Malus, who was still detained at Paris, although a promise had been made to the general that he should be sent to the army.

Notwithstanding these reasons, Dumourier ordered General Thouvenot and Petit-Jean to attend him at Antwerp ; and, in two days, he settled with them all the necessary arrangements

ments to enable his troops to take the field for the expedition.

Dumourier at the same time sent to Liege for General La Bayette, and Lieutenant-Colonel La Martinière, to form his train of artillery, which indeed was very inconsiderable. These two officers served him with a zeal and knowledge deserving of the highest eulogiums.

On the departure of Thouvenot and Petit-Jean, General Dumourier gave them instructions for a new levy of twenty-five battalions of Belgians, consisting of 800 men each, and he charged the generals and other officers commanding in the different provinces with the execution of these orders, and appointed Thouvenot inspector general and Petit-Jean commissary general : in pursuance of a decree of the National Convention, which placed those troops on the footing of French soldiers. Till that period, the Belgic Provinces had made levies of legions, regiments, and corps at their pleasure. These troops were filled with a disproportionate number of officers, and were paid on the credit of the Belgic military committee, the members of which
were

were very ignorant and dishonest, and were governed by General Roziere, who had formerly been an officer in the service of France and was neither a man of honour nor talents.

General Valence, on his route from Paris, past through Antwerp to take Dumourier's orders. Dumourier communicated his entire plan to Valence; and informed him that he was to cover the siege of Maestricht, with the army under his command, till Miranda should depart for Nimeguen, and afterward to continue the siege, if the town should not be then taken. He recommended to the general to visit all the winter quarters of the army, to chose a proper position for the covering army, to watch the motions of the enemy, and to hold himself ready to engage them if they should endeavour to relieve Maestricht, which was reasonably to be expected. Above all things, he recommended him to act with promptness and vigour; to concert measures sincerely and cordially with General Miranda; and to consult General Thouvenot, whose knowledge could not fail to be of infinite service to him. At the same time, he sent orders to Lanoue to obey General Valence.

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The Committee of Finance of the Convention, mistrusting the generals, or being desirous of counteracting and insulting them, had ordered the treasury to furnish no more money to the troops than their pay, and not to appropriate sums for the other expences, although the troops were in want of shoes, cloaths and arms. The paymaster of the army supplied no more for the troops destined against Holland, than the pay of fifteen days, which amounted only to 240,000 livres ; and the troops did not even cost the nation that sum, since they lived at the expence of the country. The expedition however was attended with prodigious incidental expences.

Notwithstanding the rapacity and unjust conduct of the French in Belgium, the whole of that nation rendered justice to the conduct of General Dumourier. In no city of Europe are there a greater number of wealthy inhabitants than at Antwerp. After the commerce of that city had fallen into decay, the inhabitants had substituted the most rigid economy in the place of that resource. Their expences were usually confined within the bounds

bounds of a part of their revenues, so that their fortunes could not but accumulate greatly. General Dumourier assembled the magistrates and principal citizens, and opened a loan of 1200,000 florins. A merchant named Verbrouck was charged with the receipt of the money, and the commissary Petit-Jean with the superintendence of its expenditure. The loan produced 200,000 florins, which in the end was an inestimable resource. It served to cloath and arm the legion of the North, the hussars of the Republic, and several other French and Belgic corps. General Dumourier, who never had leisure even to examine the accounts of the expenditure, and who was in Holland while it was received and expended, has been calumniated on this ground also. He was charged in the Jacobin Society, and afterward in the Convention, with having appropriated this sum to his own use. But he whose mind is occupied with great and interesting concerns, is not liable to be greatly tempted by the love of wealth.

General Dumourier, before he entered Holland, published a manifesto, with which the House of Orange has been justly offended. That
 declaration

declaration, it is true, in a war of ordinary circumstances had been very unjust and unwise, although we have been accustomed to see hostilities between the most civilized nations preceded by mutual abuse and accusations. But it would be a wrong done to General Dumourier, to impute, to his moral character, actions that were imposed upon him by his public situation. He was called upon to give encouragement to a very considerable party in the Dutch nation, who were dispirited by former misfortunes; and to terrify the partizans of the Stadholder. It became him, in the station he filled, to separate the people of Holland from the cause of the Stadholder, since the Dutch nation, had it been left to her to determine, would have avoided the war, dreading it as altogether contrary to her interests. Dumourier's declaration resulted from these circumstances; and, beside, it was necessary to screen the general from the censure and resentment of the National Convention, till he should be able to penetrate with success into Holland.

The preparations of which we have spoken were made, and the army assembled with every

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necessary

neceſſary, in ten days; and the advanced guard entered Holland, on the 17th of February. The moſt important difficulty was, to conceal the inconfiderable amount of this ſmall army. And, in that, the general ſucceeded ſo perfectly, that the troops themſelves were perſuaded that they were not leſs than 30,000 ſtrong. While the Dutch imagined they had to contend with an immense army; in which opinion, they were confirmed by the inhabitants of Antwerp, who extremely exaggerated the number of troops, which paſſed through that city.

C H A P. III.

Assembling the Army. Its amount. First movements. General Dumourier's meeting with the Swedish Ambassador. Taking of Breda, Klundert, and Gertruydenberg. Siege of Williamstadt. Blockade of Bergen-op-Zoom, and Steenberg. Summons given to Heusden. General Dumourier at the Moor Dyke. Preparations for passing to Dort, by the Moor-Dyke and Roowaert. Second project of passing by Gertruydenburg. The General receives Orders to join the Grand Army : Departs. Instructions given to General de Flers.

THE greater part of the army entered the Dutch territories on the 17th of February, and were stationed in cantonments, closely connected with each other, and extending from Bergen-op-Zoom, to within a league of Breda. The artillery was not yet ready; and the general, having various orders

to give relative to his expedition, to the army of the Meuse, and the affairs of Belgium, was detained at Antwerp till the 22d, when he departed with the artillery and the remainder of the troops.

The army was composed of twenty-one batallions, beside the cavalry and light troops. These twenty-one batallions, if compleat, would have amounted to near 14,000 men; but there were not above 10,000 under arms. Of these, there were only two batallions that were troops of the line, the 90th regiment formerly the regiment of Conti, which had never seen any service, and the National gendarmerie.

Three batallions of the volunteers had served in the preceding campaign in Flanders. The rest were new levies, the greater part of whom were boys of thirteen and sixteen years of age. There were but eight batallions that had cannon. The cavalry amounted to a 1000 men, consisting of a hundred excellent troopers of the 20th regiment; fifty of the 6th regiment; the 8th regiment of hussars, amounting to nearly 300 men, who were new levies, and were ill armed and ill mounted; a hundred

dred Belgic hussars, that were very good soldiers ; eighty Dutch dragoons ; and 300 horse of the legion of the North, commanded by Colonel Westermann. These last were new levies, and altogether undisciplined. The light troops were, three Dutch battalions making about 1500 men, and who conducted themselves with great bravery during the expedition ; a corps of 1000 Belgians, raised at Bruges and Ghent, of which 200 were light horse dismounted ; and the infantry of the legion of the North, to the number of 1200, who were by no means good soldiers, and were very much given to marauding. This army, which amounted to 18,000 men, mustered no more than 13,700 men fit for service. The artillery consisted of four 12 pounders, eight 8 pounders, four mortars of 10 inches, twenty hand-grenades, and four howitzers.

General Dumourier divided this little army into four divisions. The advanced guard, commanded by General Berneron, was composed of two battalions of National guards, two battalions of Dutch refugees, the Belgic corps, a party of the legion of the North, the fifty dra-

goons of the 6th regiment, the eighty Dutch dragoons, and the cavalry of the legion of the North. The right division consisted of nine battallions of National guards, and the two battallions of Gendarmerie, (which could not be reckoned as making more than one battallion), with the half of the French hussars, and was commanded by General d'Arçon, assisted by Colonel Westermann. The left division, commanded by Colonel Le Clerc, Colonel of the regiment of Bouillon, was composed of nine battallions, (one of which consisted of troops of the line,) and the remainder of the 8th regiment of hussars.

It is to be observed that this regiment of hussars remained behind for want of horses and arms, and afterward joined the army at Breda, in a state almost unfit for service; and the general was obliged to break the colonel named Dumont, who had been a taylor of Lille, (a drunken, ignorant, and dishonest man, but a vehement Jacobin) and to give the regiment to lieutenant-colonel Morgan, one of the general's aids-du-camp.

The rear guard of the army was composed of a battallion of National guards; a Dutch
 3 battallion

batallion; two hundred Belgians; a hundred troopers of the 20th regiment; and a hundred of the Belgic hussars; and was commanded by Colonel Tilly, an aid-du-camp of the general. A part of the artillery was attached to each of these divisions.

With this small army, the general undertook the conquest of Holland. But he had a powerful party in the country, who expected him with impatience, and were ready to declare themselves on his penetrating into the country. He had neither time, on account of the necessary rapidity of his movements, nor means, for want of good officers in the different corps, to form and discipline these troops. But they were ardent, courageous, and impatient for action; and the enterprize they were undertaking had a boldness in it, that extremely well suited the genius of the nation. The general informed this little army of the rigour of the climate into which they were going; the number of strong places, surrounded by inundations to be taken; and the canals and arms of the sea to be crossed. But while he told them of these obstacles, he declared to them, that, being once arrived in

Holland, they would be joined by numerous friends and would find provisions, money, and every thing they wanted, in abundance.

The French soldier possesses great sensibility and understanding; and is not to be conducted with success by the ordinary means of military men. If his general have the good sense to unfold to him the obstacles of an enterprize, he thinks no longer of any thing but conquering them, and actually makes the enterprize an affair of pleasure. But if the danger be concealed from him, he is confounded in discovering it; and if he be once dispirited, or rather disgusted with being led blindly to a desperate task, he gives way to mistrust, and it becomes impossible to rally him; or afterward to controul him *.

Dumourier had caused General Berneron to march forward, on the 16th, with the advanced guard; promising that he should be supported shortly by the rest of the army. In written instructions which he delivered to General Berneron, he ordered him instantly to send a detachment, consisting of 800

* This is a divine picture of a soldier.

infantry

infantry and 100 cavalry, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Daendels, a Dutch refugee, to the Moor Dyke, in order to seize upon all the vessels he should find there, or at Swaluve, or Roowaert: to post the remainder of his division along the little river of Merck, from Oudenbosch and Sevenbergen to Breda: and to throw a bridge over the river Merck, in order to secure a communication with Lieutenant Colonel Daendels, and to be able to support him against any forties that might be made by the neighbouring garrisons.

In Bergen-up-Zoom, Gertruydenberg, and Breda, there were three regiments of dragoons, amounting to more than all the cavalry of General Dumourier, and a sufficient number of infantry to act with them. It is certain that if these had been assembled together, and had been joined by the cavalry of Bois-le-Duc, and Heusden, they would have been sufficiently strong to have compelled the advanced guard to retire, and thereby to have ruined the expedition. But Dumourier knew that there was not any one of the Dutch generals charged with
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the defence of the country, or who had authority to draw all the cavalry together; and he was certain that the officers who commanded in the different towns, having no plan of general defence, would attend only to the danger which threatened them respectively, and would not hazard any part of their garrisons, against an army, which each of them believed to be very strong, and which appeared by the extent of its cantonments to menace several cities at once. Beside, that the commanding officers of the garrisons were sufficiently embarrassed in preparing means for their defence; not having expected so sudden an attack, and in this early part of the season.

On the 22d, the general arrived at his first post; and was astonished and afflicted to find that his orders had not been executed. No part of the advanced guard had yet passed the Merck; by which neglect, time was given to the Dutch to withdraw all their vessels from the Moor Dyke to the side of Dort, and place them under the protection of three guardships, which were on that station. This first error rendered the
general's

general's passage to Dort extremely difficult, and almost impracticable, unless he could obtain other boats in the place of these he had expected to seize.

He instantly commanded Berneron and Daendels to push forward; and General d'Arçon to invest Breda with the right division; and colonel le Clerc closely to blockade Bergen-op-Zoom, and Steenberg, with the left. The officers who commanded in those two last places abandoned all their out-posts, Colonel le Clerc made himself master of the small fort of Blaw-fluys, at a little distance from Steenberg, which place he summoned to surrender. The garrison of Bergen-op-Zoom, made two or three inconsiderable sallies; which produced no other effect than the desertion of some of their men, who entered into the Dutch legion.

General Dumourier proceeded, with his rear guard, between the two divisions of his army, to Sevenbergen; sending his advanced guard forward to Klundert and Williamstadt, with orders to besiege those two places. And he commanded Lieutenant-Colonel Daendels to post himself at Nord-schantz,

fehantz, in order to cut off the communication between Williamstadt and Klundert. This officer seized three vessels at Nordschantz.

The general appointed Messrs. Koch and de Nifs to be colonels. The former of them, who was an eloquent speaker, and a man of enterprising character, was ordered to assist Daendels; and the latter, a man of information and temperate courage, accompanied the general.

Dumourier did not conceal from himself the difficulty of passing to Dort, by the Moor Dyke. The following was the plan first projected for that purpose. Coch and Daendels, according to the instructions given to Berneron, were to proceed by the 17th to the Moor Dyke with 900 men, supported by the whole of the advanced guard, posted on the Merck. They were to collect all the vessels they could find on that side; and, on the 21st or the 22d at the furthest, embarking all the men they could crowd into these vessels, were to pass to Dort, which they had reason to hope would join them; and, aided by the inhabitants, were to disarm the garrison, consisting of 250 men,

men, unless they should be willing to incorporate themselves with the army. There were more than a hundred vessels lying at Dort. These they were to conduct to the Moor Dyke; and, arming three or four of the largest with cannon, were to send them forward to drive off the three small guard ships. Indeed it was proposed to make themselves masters of these vessels by boarding them, they being both ill armed and ill manned.

The plan thus far accomplished, the main body of the army was to proceed to Sevenbergen, Oudenbosch, Moor Dyke and Swalve; and, from thence, to pass to Dort, in one or two divisions: Their embarkation being protected, by the rear guard, who were to destroy the bridge that should be thrown over the Merck, and to prevent the garrisons, that might attempt to harass the army, from passing the river. The army being once arrived at Dort there was no longer any obstacle to be feared.

On the evening in which General Dumourier quitted Antwerp, he met, at a little village on his route, the Baron de Stael, who formerly had been Ambassador from Sweden to France,

France, and was now going to Paris. The Baron supped with Dumourier, and informed him that every part of Germany and Holland through which he had passed was friendly to the General's enterprise; and that at Utrecht he was impatiently expected. He also confirmed the intelligence, which the General had already received, that the party of the Stadholder were in the greatest consternation. Without endeavouring to discover the object of the Baron's journey, the General counselled him to wait the issue of the present expedition before he should explain himself confidentially to the French Ministry, that he might not too hastily pledge his court to any certain line of conduct, or expose his measures to be afterward disowned; and he advised him by all means to be silent, at Paris, on every subject but such as he was willing should be known to the whole world. This Minister assured the General that he was going to Paris on his private concerns. Dumourier before his departure from Antwerp, had given the same counsel to a personage from Poland, of very high rank and consequence; who, being on his route, had paid a visit to the General at his quarters. Indeed,

deed, the General's maxim uniformly was to take every opportunity of preventing foreign courts from pledging themselves to a ministry, the slave of an assembly of 700 men without prudence, experience or honor.

Dumourier's original plan was totally deranged by the negligence of the officers, to whom he had entrusted the advanced guard, and the execution of his first operations. But he did not abandon his hopes of success. He concerted new means. In the canals between Oudenbosch and Sevenbergen, he found 23 vessels from 20 to 70 tons. He ordered one of his Commissaries, named Bourfier, an indefatigable and intelligent man, to make them fit to carry 1200 men; and to mount four of them with cannon, for the advanced guard of this little squadron. He impressed all the carpenters and sailors of the small ports that are to be found in that part, and assigned them very considerable pay, on the funds already raised by the Dutch Committee, on the credit of the property of the Prince of Orange and his known partizans.

From the moment that Dumourier entered Holland, the army no longer cost the French treasury

treasury any thing more than the daily pay. The inhabitants, of their own accord, furnished provisions and forage, as well as money to forward the expedition. Never was army received with such cordiality; nor ever did soldiers less merit such reception; the Gendarmerie and light troops indulging themselves in rapine and every species of oppression. But, from the disgrace of this conduct, the troops of the line and national guards are to be wholly exempted; since, on all occasions, these conducted themselves with urbanity and justice.

As it demanded time to prepare the vessels, the general made another important change in his first plan. According to that, he meant to deceive and evade the strong places; and, stealing as it were between them, to embark directly at the Moor Dyke. After that he would have had time to harraß those places; and, relying on the weakness of the garrisons, and inexperience of the commanding officers, he calculated on making himself master of at least one of them, which event would give great relief to his arms and furnish him with artillery and ammunition, in both of which he was extremely ill provided.

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He resolved to undertake no one siege in form. To press a regular siege forward with vigour, he must have assembled his little army in one point, and thereby have given the enemy an opportunity of knowing its weakness; and, being no longer master of the country, it would have been easy for the garrisons that were not attacked to recover from their surprise, assemble troops to cut off his communication with Antwerp, drive away his workmen, and destroy his little fleet, without which he had nothing to hope. Wherefore, while Colonel Le Clerc continued to blockade Bergen-op-zoom and Steenberg, he ordered General d'Arçon to attack Breda, and his advanced guard at the same time to fall upon Klundert.

Breda is a town celebrated for its strength. It was furnished with two hundred pieces of cannon, was well palisadoed, and protected by an inundation. Twelve hundred infantry, and a regiment of dragoons, garrisoned the place; but the Governor, the Count de Byland, was a courtier, and had seen no service. The troops bought their bread at the bakers, their meat at the butchers, without having any magazines.

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The Dutch towns are most of them well protected by inundations, and abound with strong exterior works; but are greatly deficient in casemates, and the inhabitants are greatly disaffected to the government.

General d'Arçon, without opening any trenches, erected two batteries of four mortars and four howitzers, extremely near the town, on the side of the village of Hage. The enemy answered by a very brisk fire, during three days; on the fourth, General d'Arçon had no more than sixty bombs left, and must have been under the necessity of raising the siege after throwing them into the place. At this moment, Colonel Philip de Vaux, an Aid-de-Camp of General Dumourier, entered the place to summons it for the second time, and represented to the Count de Byland, that General Dumourier was on the point of arriving with his whole army, and that then no quarters would be given to the garrison, which so alarmed the Governor that he capitulated with the consent of his officers. The honors of war and all the Governor's demands were granted him. The French entered the place; which, excepting some few houses, was not at all damaged.

maged. They found two hundred and fifty *bouches à feu**, near three hundred thousand weight of powder, and five thousand fuses, of which they were in great want. This siege did not cost more than twenty men on each side. The French carried their temerity so far as to dance the *Carmagnole* on the glacis, on the side which was not inundated. Thirty dragoons of the regiment of Byland sallied out upon these men, killed some, and returned with six prisoners, having lost two or three men and some of their horses.

The besieging army amounted to no more than five thousand men; and, of these, twelve hundred were detached to seize upon several forts on the sluices, on the side of Huesden.

Klundert was taken two days after the surrender of Breda. The works of this small fort were extremely regular, and the place was protected by inundations that entirely surrounded it. It was defended with great vigour, but with little judgment; by a lieutenant colonel in the Dutch service, who was a Westphalian. He had no more than a hundred and fifty men in the place. General Berneron had erected a battery of four cannon and

* The translator does not know what those are.

a number of small mortars close behind the dyke, at a hundred and fifty toises from the place ; so that the houses of that small city were almost entirely destroyed. The commanding officer, after keeping up an almost incessant fire during several days with little effect, and having no longer any shelter for his troops, resolved to spike his cannon, and to endeavour to retreat with the remainder of his garrison to Williamstadt. He was intercepted by a detachment of the Dutch refugees, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Hartmann, whom he shot dead, receiving at the same time a ball which killed him on the spot, and his men were made prisoners. The French carried the body of this officer to Klundert, after having taken the keys of the town, which were found in his pocket.

In this place were found fifty-three pieces of cannon, some mortars, a great quantity of bombs and shot, and about eighty thousand weight of powder.

General Dumourier lost no time in sending Berneron to besiege Williamstadt. And it was with the ammunition and artillery of Klundert that the new siege was undertaken.

Dumourier

Dumourier also ordered Général d'Arçon to commence the siege of Gertruydenberg. This small town was ill defended on the side of Ramfdoneck, having in that quarter only a slight pallisadoe along the river, and being commanded by neighbouring heights. But on the left side of the Donge, it was protected by an extensive inundation, and by two lines of extremely strong outworks, which could not have been carried in three weeks, had they been ably and vigorously defended. The garrison was composed of the regiment of Hirtzel, amounting to between eight or nine hundred men, and of a fine regiment of dragoons belonging to the Stadtholder's guard. The governor, named Bedault, a major general in the service, was an old man of eighty. General d'Arçon began the attack with cannon and mortars that he brought from Breda. All the outworks were carried, or abandoned by the enemy, on the second day. D'Arçon erected batteries on some of them; and after a few shot were exchanged, Colonel de Vaux entered the place, the capitulation was settled, the honors of war were granted, and General Dumourier, who had arrived mean while,

dined with the old General Bedault, who acknowledged to him that he had surrendered because he had been disappointed in his expectations of receiving vessels from Dort or Gorcum, to enable him to evacuate the place. A few bombs had fallen on the city and one on the general's house.

During dinner, a messenger came to inform the governor that the terms of the capitulation had been violated by a lieutenant-colonel of the National guards, who, being drunk, insolently insisted on entering the city in spite of the centinels, and had attempted to discharge a pistol at the lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of Hirtzel. General Dumourier ordered the drunkard to be brought into the room, tore the epaulet from his shoulder, and reduced him to the ranks, to the great astonishment of the officers of the garrison, who interceded for his pardon.

General Dumourier conversed much with this garrison, which consisted of exceeding fine troops. He has frequently since thought of an expression of the lieutenant colonel of the regiment of Hirtzel, who, walking with him

nim on the ramparts, said, *Hodie mibi, cras tibi.* The honest Swiss spoke prophetically.

This new conquest gave us a hundred and fifty *bouches à feu*, two hundred thousand weight of powder, a quantity of bombs and ball, twenty-five hundred new fuses, and what was most essential an excellent port, and more than thirty vessels of various sizes. We had also taken five vessels at Breda.

This was in the beginning of March. While these sieges were carrying forward, the general passed the greater part of the time at the Moor Dyke, whence, it being in the centre of his operations, he directed the sieges on his right and left, and superintended the fitting out of his squadron. His commissary Bourfier having, with incredible exertions, found means to arm twenty-three vessels, and to victual them for twelve hundred men, the general sent them down the canal of Sevenbergen to Roowaert, which is a small creek, lying a quarter of a league west of the Moor Dyke.

On the day the general established his quarters in this village with an hundred Dutch chasseurs and fifty dragoons, he was canno-

naded the whole day, by the three guard ships. Having posted his chasseurs along the Dyke, by which two men were killed on board the vessels, he compelled them to abandon their situation. A few days after, he ordered twelve twenty-four pounders from Breda, together with ammunition, and constructed several batteries, one of which was at Roowaert, to protect the sailing of his squadron, and the rest at the Moor Dyke to cover his embarkment. He was persuaded that his cannon would carry more than half way over the canal ; and indeed the enemy's armed ships did not again approach the side occupied by the French.

He caused huts covered with straw to be raised along the sands from Roowaert to Swaluve. There the soldiers amused themselves and were extremely happy, but impatient to cross to Dort. Dumourier jestingly told them that they resembled beavers ; and he named this aquatic cantonment, the camp of Beavers. Provisions were in plenty ; the water was not bad ; and brandy was distributed to the troops every morning. The general

general gave his troops an example of firmness ; and was lodged, and lived like the rest.

In this expedition, the general chalked himself out a system for carrying on war in countries overflowed by water. It would not be impossible, by means of dykes, to march over any part of Holland, to conduct artillery, and establish batteries at pleasure : excepting in the case of being opposed by gun-boats, when it would be necessary to have an adequate force of the same nature.

General Dumourier had, among his battalions of volunteers, several men from Gascony, Brittany, Normandy, and Dunkirk. Of these men he formed a body from four to five hundred sailors, giving them twenty sols per day in addition to their pay. The general's squadron at Roowaert was designed to carry his advanced guard, and he appointed an English naval officer, and a lieutenant of the Dutch navy, to command it ; with the assistance of some pilots belonging to the country. But the necessary delays had given time to the Dutch to augment considerably their squadron in the *Bisbos*, which is the small sea of the Moor Dyke. That squadron

dron consisted already of twelve armed ships, one of which carried twenty guns; and these vessels were disposed of with great judgment for opposing the general's passage, and acting in concert. But Dumourier calculated, in case the wind should be settled, that not more than half the squadron could engage him, as those which should be to leeward of him would not, in that case, be able to reach him.

The Dutch had also erected batteries at Stry, and all along the coast of the island of Dort; which it was said was reinforced by 1200 of the English guards, who had landed since the declaration of war at Helvoet-Sluys. The general however was convinced that the enemy had no certain intelligence of his plan, because the Prince of Orange was making his greatest preparations for defence at Gorcum, and had assembled an army there to oppose his march: this army was as yet inconsiderable; the reinforcements of the English and emigrants augmenting it to no more than 4000 men.

Dumourier, still to deceive the enemy respecting his real design, continued the blockade of Bergen-op-zoom and Steenberg. General de Flers was returned from Paris,
and

and had obtained the reinforcement that he demanded, which arrived with great dispatch. Dumourier ordered him to occupy the cantonments of Colonel le Clerc at Rosendaël, and round Bergen-op-zoom with 6000 men, which orders were rapidly executed. He ordered the left division to approach Oudenbosch, and Sevenbergen. He sent the national gendarmerie, with some cavalry, from his right, to shew themselves on the side of Heusden. A lieutenant colonel of the gendarmerie summoned that place ; and, ridiculously enough, addressed the governor by the phrase of citizen governor, instead of the usual appellation.

General Berneron continued the siege of Williamstadt ; but with very ill success. He had commenced his attack at too great a distance ; and consumed a great quantity of ammunition, without making any progress. There was but one front of this town which was open to attack, and that was extremely narrow: and the Dutch had thrown reinforcement into the town by sea. Dumourier sent to the assistance of General Berneron, Dubois de Crancé, (an engineer of great merit

merit, and very different in character from his unworthy brother, the member of the national convention) and another engineer named Marefcot. These two valuable officers resolved to draw nearer the town; and, while they were erecting a battery at the distance of two hundred toifes from the place, they were abandoned by their soldiers, and were slain in a fortie, that the enemy made on the workmen. General Berneron, notwithstanding, continued the siege obstinately, which was not raised till after the departure of General Dumourier for the grand army.

The general having found a considerable quantity of shipping at Gertruydenberg, he resolved to use them in facilitating his passage to Dort. He had a sufficient number of vessels at Roowaert for his advanced guard. Master of Breda, Klundert, and Gertruydenberg, and leaving the corps under General de Flers to continue the blockade of Steenberg and Bergen-op-zoom, he had secured his rear from being harassed. He therefore caused his rear guard to advance to Swaluve, at which place there were vessels for its embarkation;

barkation ; and he resolved to embark his right division in the vessels of Gertruydenberg.

The passage from Gertruydenberg to the island of Dort is somewhat longer than that from the Moor Dyke. To the right, and even in front of this port, the *Bijbos* is filled with sand banks, and numerous small islands detached from the main land of Gorcum ; most of which are covered with trees, and underwood. The armed ships of the enemy drew too much water to approach these islands. There were, however, three barks each carrying four cannon, and thirty men, stationed at different points to guard the passage. Beyond these small islands, many of which are covered by the tide at high water, was situated an island much more elevated above the water than the rest, on which, was a small farm belonging to an inhabitant of Gertruydenberg. This island, which the enemy's largest vessels could not approach by seven or eight hundred toises, was separated from the island of Dort only by a space of six hundred toises, which was guarded by a battery mounting six canon, standing on a low and muddy soil on the island

island of Dort, and by a frigate of fourteen guns, stationed under the battery.

The general resolved to land two batallions, with six four and twenty pounders in this island; and to erect a battery to drive off the the frigate, whose guns appeared to be small. Having done this, he designed to embark with his right division in the smaller vessels belonging to Gertruydenberg and to pass over in the same route.

As he might be compelled to engage one of the vessels of four guns, in his passage to the island, he designed to fill several large shallops with chosen men to board that vessel, and ordered two vessels each carrying two cannon to be ready to precede him, giving the command of one to an English naval officer named White, and of the other to Lieutenant Colonel la Rue, an aid-de-camp of the general, who had been in the sea service. Every preparation was made with such celerity that it was the general's design to have attempted the passage on the the night of the 8th or 10th. But events of a very different nature were arriving, and the rapidity of his first successes were followed by

a still more rapid succession of evils which decided the fate of the war.

Dumourier in the midst of his plans, and notwithstanding his successes, had for some days been a prey to the greatest uneasiness. The siege of Maestricht had been commenced on the 20th of February ; but, although General Miranda had set fire to several quarters of the city, it was defended with extreme obstinacy, by reinforcements of the emigrants, who assembled there in great numbers, headed by M. d'Autichamp, a lieutenant-general in the army of the Prince de Condé, and an excellent officer ; to whom it is said the Dutch owe the safety of the city of Maestricht.

General Champmorin had, without any opposition, made himself master of the fort of Stevenswaert, on the Meuse ; and also of fort St. Michael, which commands the entrance, the left side of that river, of the bridge of Venloo. But he had not been able to take possession of Venloo, the Prussians having already entered it.

General Valence, although he possessed military talents, had not acquired sufficient authority

authority over the troops effectually to compensate for the absence of Dumourier. He remained at Liege ; and had neither raised the winter quarters of the troops, nor drawn them closer together. And great misunderstandings existed among the generals.

General Stengel occupied the quarters round Aix-la-Chapelle. He was an officer well versed in the discipline and duties of light troops, and was excellently calculated to command an advanced guard.

General Dampierre commanded in Aix-la-Chapelle, where he was entirely taken up with his pleasures, and the means of gratifying his rapacity. He was a man of a fierce, and ambitious spirit ; rash in the extreme, but was without talent, and was even timid at times through his excessive ignorance. He hated his superiors ; and machinated with the Jacobins of Paris, for the fabrication of calumnies, by which he aimed at the command of the armies.

The Prince of Cobourg, who had arrived at Cologne, was acquainted with the misunderstandings of the generals, and the injudicious, and feeble disposition of the troops. Assemb-

ling his army he marched to Aldenhoven, where he penetrated into the French quarters without obstacle. The French instantly abandoned all their posts, without making the least stand against the enemy; and fell back upon Liege in the greatest confusion. General le Veneur, who commanded the attack of Maestricht on the side of Wyck, had the good fortune to have sufficient time to repass the Meuse with his cannon. The Imperialists entered Maestricht. Miranda, notwithstanding, ought to have continued the bombardment from the left side of the river; and, collecting his army between Tongres and Maestricht, which was a tolerable position, he might then have prevented the further progress of the Prince of Cobourg.

These were the orders given to Miranda by General Dumourier, on his receiving news of the disaster. This was also the advice of General Valence. That General a few days afterward saved a column consisting of twenty-seven battalions on their retreat from Liege, by making a vigorous charge on the enemy, at the head of his cavalry, on the plains of Tongres; and Lieutenant-General Lanoue

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displayed

displayed the greatest bravery, in his retreat from Aix-la-Chapelle.

But Miranda was disconcerted, and lost all presence of mind. On his own authority, he ordered the troops to abandon the Meuse. The Imperialists followed up their victory, passed the Meuse, entered Leige, and took possession of the French magazines, which were considerable, especially in the article of cloathing. So great was the consternation in the French army, that, excepting the heavy artillery which was carried off to Louvain, and from thence to Tournay, every thing was abandoned, including even the baggage of the troops.

The two generals, Miranda and Valence, assembled their forces in the camp of Louvain. Champmorin, who could no longer maintain his position on the left side of the Meuse, evacuated Stevenswaert, and Fort St. Michael, (in which places he ought to have left garrisons) and retreated to Diest. General la Marlière, who was at Ruremonde, fell back to the same place. This retreat left the Prussians masters of the Lower Meuse. They had it in their power instantly to have crossed the

the country of Campine; and, by the route of Antwerp or Bois-le-Duc, might have fallen on the rear of the French army in Holland. Prince Frederick of Brunswick lost this important opportunity; and General Dumourier, availing himself of the neglect, afterward placed his army in security.

The troops under Miranda and Valence, were utterly discouraged. They openly blamed and menaced their general officers, more especially Miranda, who was in considerable danger of his life. At length however General Valence, aided by the prudence of General Thouvenot, restored some degree of order in the army. But the desertion of the troops was enormous. More than 10,000 men absolutely returned to France. The army loudly demanded the presence of General Dumourier. The commissioners of the Convention dispatched courier after courier, urging his departure for Louvain. The general constantly answered them, that they might maintain the army in its present position; and that still there was nothing to be feared if they gave him time to accomplish his present object. This was true. General

Valence, and General Thouvenot, were of the same opinion. But Miranda now betrayed a terror altogether proportioned to the rashness which had hitherto governed him, which justified the dispatches of General Valence, who from the first predicted this check, while Miranda's letters uniformly asserted, that the army of the Imperialists was not to be feared. And certainly his opinion would have been just, if the French had taken a judicious position, with an equal force, which they might and ought to have done. It was to be presumed that the Prince of Cobourg would not have chosen to hazard a battle; or, if he had, the French had no reason to fear the issue.

The commissioners of the Convention hurried precipitately to Paris. They made a report so alarming, and painted the consternation of the soldiers in such strong colours, that it was universally acknowledged, that General Dumourier could alone stop the progress of the disaster, and save the army. He was commanded, in the most absolute terms, to abandon the expedition of Holland, and instantly to put himself at the head of the grand army.

army. He received the order on the evening of the 8th of March, and departed on the 9th, in a state bordering on despair.

Dumourier gave the command of his army to General de Flers. He knew the capacity of this general to be inadequate to the task; but he had not another general officer he could put in his place. General d'Arçon was extremely afflicted with the gout, and could not keep the field, and had even refused the rank of lieutenant-general, which Dumourier would have obtained for him, as a reward for the taking of Breda. He retired to Antwerp. Lieutenant General Marassé, an old foldier, who commanded at Antwerp, could not on account of his great age, be entrusted in an active situation, although he was a man of courage and experience. And it was Dumourier's design to send General Miranda into Holland, on his arrival at the grand army.

Dumourier left Colonel Thouvenot, who was the soul of his little army, with General de Flers. He gave the colonel a copy of the instructions he had delivered to General de Flers, whom he recommended to undertake

no enterprize without the concurrence of Colonel Thouvenot. He ordered him instantly to attempt the passage of Gertruydenberg; and, in case of success, to forward dispatches to Dumourier, and to remain at Dort till he should receive his further instructions.

But the departure of General Dumourier, utterly dispirited this army. Those who had been most forward, impatient, and daring, on every occasion, now considered the undertaking to be impracticable. In truth, it became such shortly afterward. The Dutch squadron being reinforced, and the Prussians being on their march by Bois-le-duc, de Flers, in pursuit of his instructions in the case of the passage to Dort not taking place, threw himself into Breda, with six battalions and two hundred horse. Colonel Tilly into Gertruydenberg, with three battalions, and fifty horse. The remainder of the army returned safely to Antwerp, owing to the good conduct of Colonel de Vaux, and Colonel Thouvenot. Those officers withdrew from the batteries of the Moor Dyke, with the greatest prudence, and constancy; and although the army was thrown into disorder, they

they effected the retreat without loss. The fortifications of Klundert were blown up by Thouvenot, who had not time to put that small fort in a state of defence.

And thus terminated Dumourier's enterprise against Holland. An enterprize, projected and begun in ten days, which did not burthen France with the additional charge of one sol, and which probably had succeeded, but for the unfortunate retreat of Aix-la-Chapelle.

Two strong places were acquired in this expedition, by which the progress of the enemy might have been arrested; and which might have served as magazines, and a place of arms, if the design of entering Holland had been resumed. In a word, France reaped no disgrace in this quarter. But now Dumourier's prospects were once more changed; and he was again compelled to form new plans, as well respecting the interior situation of France, as with respect to her enemies.

C H A P. IV.

The General arrives at Antwerp. Sends the Agents of the Executive Power from that Town. Arrives at Brussels. Addresses the Representatives of the People. Writes to the Convention. Arrests Chepy, and Estienne. Several Proclamations. Arrives on the 13th of March at Louvain. The Commissioners of the Convention come to that City to meet the General.

NOTWITHSTANDING the importance of the concerns which had occupied General Dumourier's mind, since his departure from Paris, he had not overlooked, nor failed to lament as much as the Belgians themselves, the detestable tyranny exercised over them by the National Convention, and by the agents of the Executive Power. The insolence of these latter, the Satellites of avarice and oppression, was not exceeded even by their atrocious villainies. Their conduct was a tissue of
ridiculous

ridiculous circumstances. Most of them assumed the military honors, and never walked the streets without a guard. They set all rules at defiance; and, finding that they were not sufficiently numerous to spread their extortions through the whole extent of those rich provinces, they augmented their means by issuing commissions to other persons like themselves.

In passing through Bruges the General was invited to a ball. One of these gentlemen, who was dancing, accosted the General on his entering the room; and, announcing himself as a Commissioner of the Executive Power, he acquainted the General that he was on his road to Ostend and Nieuport, to put those places in a proper state of defence. The General sternly commanded him to confine himself to the functions of his office; to execute those with modesty; and, thenceforward, to forbear intruding himself into military concerns.

Another of these personages, named, as I think, Lieutaud, who was stationed at Ruremonde, as a task-master to General la Marliere, wrote a long letter to Dumourier, *Thouing* and *Theeing* him throughout, and commanding him to abandon every other enterprize, in order
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to march to the assistance of Ruremonde. The General sent this letter to Le Brun, contenting himself with adding by way of postscript, *This letter ought to be dated*, CHARENTON.

A third, named Cochelet, who resided at Liege, having received notice of the declaration of war decreed on the first of February, ordered a detachment of troops to attend him, and, marching on the Dutch territory before Maestricht, proclaimed the war, tore up the posts on which were the arms of the States General, and took possession of the Seven United Provinces, in the name of the French Republic.

This impertinent parade served as a warning to the Governor of Maestricht to withdraw his cavalry cantoned round the city, (together with a considerable quantity of forage) which General Miaczynsky was on the point of surprising. General Miranda naturally condemned this conduct, because he was not yet prepared to act against Maestricht. Cochelet sent the General a written order to take Maestricht before the 20th of February, on pain of being denounced as a traitor; and he sent a copy of the letter to the National Convention, who applauded

applauded his Roman firmness. Cochelet, however, was recalled; because, intoxicated with the honors of his proconsulship, he had treated contemptuously the authority of the deputies of the Convention.

When General Dumourier arrived at Antwerp on the second of February, he found that city humiliated and terrified by the presence of one of these subaltern tyrants, whose name he has forgotten, and whom he caused to be recalled. Every city in Belgium was governed by one or more of these execrable Proconsuls. They entered on their office by sequestering the silver of the churches, the revenues of the clergy, and the estates of the nobility. They then pillaged, or sold to their accomplices at an excessively inferior price, the furniture of the nobles and clergy. They suppressed the national imposts to flatter the people, degraded the magistrates from their seats, erected clubs, and exercised an arbitrary authority, by the aid of the military, who blindly obeyed them.

Throughout the provinces of Belgium this wild tyranny was become insupportable. Dumourier had made reiterated complaints of this tyranny to the Convention, as well as to the Commissioners

Commissioners of the Convention, Camus, Treilhard, Merlin and Gossuin, whom he met at Ghent; but these latter either were not willing, or had not authority to redress the evil. He represented to them, that on the Prince of Cobourg's appearing in force on the frontier, a general insurrection of the Belgians was to be expected, that our weakened garrisons would be massacred, and our crimes punished by the hands of those we had oppressed; and that this war was, in a manifold degree, more dangerous than the war with the Imperialists.

The rout of the troops at Aix-la-Chapelle, their precipitate flight to Louvain, their confusion, terror, and desertion, greatly increased the danger, which Dumourier had foreseen, of a general insurrection in Belgium.

The danger was aggravated by the conduct of the Commissioners of the Convention. They called on the provinces to express their resolution of being united to France. The people were assembled in the churches without any order or decency. A French Commissioner, supported by the commanding officer of the place, by soldiers, and by French and Belgic Clubists, read the act of union, which

which seldom was understood by any person present, any more than the harrangue made on the occasion; the act was notwithstanding signed by the audience, generally with trembling hands; reports of the proceedings were printed, and sent to the Convention, who forthwith created another department.

These fraternal proceedings were often effected by violence. At Brussels and at Mons, muskets and sabres were employed in the assembly, and several persons were wounded. Protests were formally made against the Union. Partial insurrections took place at Wawres, Hall, Braine, and Soignies. The most dangerous was at Grammont. Ten thousand peasants assembled in arms, and had possessed themselves of several cannon. They imprisoned the Commissioners, and drove back detachments of the garrison of Ghent. These tumults increased hourly. The French army, scarcely in force to resist the Imperialists, could not spare troops to put an end to these cruel contests, which were spreading over the whole of Belgium; and it had been easy for a few Flemish officers belonging to the Imperial army, with some chosen soldiers, to have insinuated themselves into the French

quarters, by means of their knowledge of the language, and to have given a regular form to this intestine war.

Dumourier hated the injustice of the National Convention, and resisted every attempt to make him the instrument of its tyranny and the scourge of Belgium. A two-fold interest therefore directed his conduct at present. His objects were, to deliver this unhappy country, and to save his army. As to his success in the former, he invokes the testimony of the Belgians, from whom he received the most honorable marks of esteem and gratitude, in travelling through that country, when he no longer possessed the influence of station.

Arriving at Antwerp on the 11th, he found that city in the greatest confusion and alarm. A Commissioner of the Executive Power, named Chauffart, who modestly surnamed himself *Publicola*, had recently removed the magistrates, and had issued orders to arrest them, and the other principal citizens, to the number of sixty-seven. General Marassé eluded the execution of this order, with which he was charged by *Publicola*; but the bishop of Antwerp, and the other proscribed persons were either fled
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or had concealed themselves. Dumourier sent a written order to Chauffart and his colleagues, to quit Antwerp, and to go to Brussels instantly, declaring, in case of disobedience, that he would give orders to General Marassé to take them there by force. Chauffart came to the General with much dignity, or insolence, and complained of this order, saying, that it seemed to be dictated by a Vizir. The General answered with good humour, *I am certainly as much of a Vizir, as you are of Publicola.*

General Dumourier compelled Chauffart to quit the town immediately. He reinstated the magistrates, and restored the peace of that important city. He issued an ordinance, prohibiting the Jacobin club in any degree to interfere in public affairs. He commanded General Marassé to wall up the door of the hall where the club assembled, to imprison every member that disobeyed this ordinance, to print the order in both languages, and to post it up and publish it throughout the city.

Dumourier afterward departed for Brussels. Having received complaints, from that city, of the atrocious conduct of General Moreton, he had a few days previous to his departure re-

moved him from the command; which he had conferred on Lieutenant-General Duval. Moreton at first refused to obey the general; but, in consequence of an order from the minister of war, he took upon him the command at Douay, where he had an opportunity of pursuing his former system of conduct till his death.

General Duval was an extremely good officer, and it was the ill state of his health alone which prevented his being with the army. He had served the preceding year with great reputation and success. His judgment was clear, he abounded in the qualities that beget esteem, and was perfectly calculated to heal the wounds inflicted by Moreton's tyranny.

Duval gave the general a more particular account, than he had hitherto received, of the disorder and consternation that reigned among the troops assembled at Louvain, from which place Duval had recently arrived. Almost all the tents had been lost in the retreat. There were not left a sufficient number to encamp half the army; yet it was impossible to restore any degree of courage to the troops, or to make any movement with safety, without encamping them for a while. A great part of
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the field pieces belonging to the army, had been also lost.

The general officers commanding the artillery, receiving no orders during the confusion of the retreat, nor indeed demanding any, held a council of war among themselves, in which it was resolved to carry off the whole park of artillery, and conduct it into France. All the twenty-four pounders, the sixteen pounders, the mortars, and pontoons, were already at Tournay, on their route to France; fortunately, however, the lighter artillery, and the howitzers, were still at Anderlecht. These latter the general ordered to join the army at Louvain; and those at Tournay not to proceed on their route to France.

Brussels was filled with officers and soldiers of the army, who were on their return to France. The general sent them back to the camp at Louvain; and dispatched orders to Tournay and Mons, and the cities in the department of the north, to arrest and send back to the army all the fugitives returning into France.

Dumourier ordered General Stengel, who had retired to Namur, with two squadron of

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hussars

hussars, to join the army. General Neuilly, who was in his winter quarters in the country of Stavelo, with the half of the advanced guard of the army of the Ardennes, at the time of the flight from Aix-la-Chapelle, had also retired to Namur, and the general ordered him to post his troops at Judoigne, to secure the communication between the grand army, and the corps commanded by Lieutenant General d'Harville. To General d'Harville, he sent repeated orders to encamp his troops, or, if he had not a sufficient number of tents for the purpose, to make his cantonments as connected and compact as possible, in order to prevent the Prince of Hohenloe and General Beaulieu, from forcing the passage of the Meuse, or turning the right of the army, and so falling upon Brussels and Mons. The garrison of Brussels was by no means strong, yet the general was obliged to select some of its best battalions to reinforce the army.

Ten thousand men hastily raised in the department of the north were sent to the army. This reinforcement was greatly boasted of. The name of centurions had been given to these troops. They consisted of companies which

which were nominally a hundred men each, but were, in fact, much below that number, composed of old men and children, armed with pikes, cutlasses, fowling pieces, and pistols. They had been promised twenty sols per day, and were designed to garrison the towns of Belgium, but not, as they themselves said, to defend them, or to fight*. This militia, the offspring of a plan of Gossuin and Merlin, served only to heighten the embarrassment, confusion, and want of discipline, which already prevailed, and the general was impatient till he had sent them back to France.

But an object even more important to General Dumourier, than these military concerns, was to calm the minds of the Belgians, and to restore public confidence throughout the country, by putting a final period to the system under which they had suffered. He was not ignorant that in this attempt he should excite the Jacobins, and the Convention, to proceed to extremity with him. The time, however, for conciliatory measures, as

* — *de garder les places de la Belgique, mais non pas, disaient ils, de les défendre, ni de faire la guerre.*

well as for deliberation, was entirely passed: so great were the evils to be remedied, so enormous the wrongs that had been done to the Belgians, and so immediate was the danger of vengeance being taken by that people.

A few days before Dumourier arrived at Brussels, Chepy had urged general Duval to order several executions. He threatened to fire Brussels, or to put it to the sword. He had arrested several of the wealthiest citizens, and had sent them to be confined in the fortresses of the department of the north. General Dumourier now arrested him, and sent him, under a guard, to Paris.

The legion of *Sans-culottes*, raised by General Moreton, and composed of the lowest of the populace, held the city in awe, and daily committed unheard of cruelties and extortions. A Frenchman, a man of abandoned character, named Estienne, commanded it, with the title of general. Dumourier threw him into prison, and published an ordinance, breaking this corps, and forbidding all persons to distinguish themselves by the denomination of *Sans-culottes*.

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He assembled the magistrates of the city. He besought them, before all the people, not to attribute to the French nation, crimes committed only by individuals. He solemnly promised to punish the guilty, and to restore to their families, peaceable citizens, who had been torn from them, under the pretence of serving as hostages to France. The representatives of the people, shed tears of gratitude, and caused accounts of these interesting proceedings to be published.

General Dumourier issued a proclamation to authorise the citizens to deliver complaints to the magistrates, respecting vexations committed by the French, and empowering the magistrates to verify and give a legal form to these complaints. By another proclamation, he prohibited the clubs from interfering in public affairs, and by another, he commanded all the sacred vases, to be restored to the churches, enjoining the magistrates and military officers to aid in restoring them.

These proclamations were printed in both languages, and sent into every part of Belgium. Their effect was immediate. The inhabitants of Grammont wrote to the general

ral, that they laid down their arms. Peace was restored between the French and the Belgians. These worthy people forgot the evils they had suffered, and again embraced the French as their brethren and defenders. Indeed it is but just to say, the garrisons had always conducted themselves in a manner, no ways discreditable, especially in the great cities; and, had it not been for the decree of 15th of December, and the conduct of the agents of the executive power, the French character would have been esteemed and beloved in that country.

On the 12th of March, Dumourier wrote a letter to the National Convention, which appeared so deplorably true in its contents, that the president and the committee to which it was referred, did not dare to read it in the Tribune. A copy of this letter stole abroad, and was printed at Antwerp. In it, the general frankly stated to the convention, the measures he had been compelled to pursue, in order to save Belgium, and the French army. He referred the Convention, for minute information on each point, to the minister, to whom he sent copies of the proclamations, and

and an account of his proceedings, demanding of him, that he should produce the whole to the convention, without reserve or disguise.

He sent for the commissary Petit-Jean, and, assembling all the administrators of provisions, &c. he informed them, that he was on the eve of making a great movement, with the army, and in a few days would engage the enemy; and he made such arrangements with them as were necessary to his purpose. He almost immediately procured provisions for fifteen days, and prepared his travelling hospital to attend the army.

The pay-master of the army had retired to Lille, with two millions of livres in specie, and the general wrote to the Commandant of Lille, to send him back to the army with a strong escort.

General Dumourier harangued the garrison at Brussels, with such effect, that the different corps demanded leave to follow him against the enemy. He departed on the evening of the 12th of March, for Louvain.

Before we enter on the history of the military operations that follow, and that we may not be obliged to interrupt them, it will

be necessary to speak here of the visit which the general received at Louvain from the commissioners of the National Convention. When the disaster befell the army, Camus, Treilhard, Merlin, and Gossuin, retired to the frontiers of France, while La Croix, and Danton, went to Paris. When the former knew of the general's arrival from Holland, they proceeded to Louvain to meet him, having missed him at Brussels.

Camus and Treilhard complained of the general's proclamations, especially that which ordered the silver to be restored to the churches. They told the general that he ought not to have acted with such precipitation, but have waited their arrival, and that it was beyond the bounds of his authority to interfere with the administration of the civil government. The general answered, that the first of all duties was that of attending to the public safety; that the Convention might be deceived, as indeed they had been, by their emissaries; that the whole weight of the war, the honour of the nation, and the preservation of the army, rested upon him; that for these he was responsible, not only to his superiors, but

but to posterity; that he had undertaken no measure inconsiderately, but after the maturest deliberation; that, had they been present, he should not have consulted them, although he should have endeavoured to have won them to act with him, in putting an end to the crimes, which had long oppressed the Belgians and dishonoured France; and, had they opposed his intentions, he would, notwithstanding, have issued the proclamations.

He appealed particularly to Camus, who was religious and superstitious, on the proclamation that respected the churches. He expressed his surprise, that a man, who professed a zeal for religion, should be the advocate of a sacrilege committed on a people, whom the French considered as allies and friends. *Go to the church of St. Gudule, Dumourier said to him, see the host trodden under foot, and wasted on the pavement; the altars broken; and paintings, the master pieces of art, torn into shreds; and justify these profanations, or rather own the necessity of punishing the agents of your criminal orders. If the Convention applaud these crimes, if she have no feeling of their enormity, she is to be pitied; and, still more, my unhappy country.*

Know

Know, that if my country cannot be saved without the commission of crimes, I will not commit them. But here, the crimes of France are ready to turn upon herself; and I serve her in endeavouring to destroy them.

Camus observed the great difficulty there would be in restoring the silver vessels to the churches, since they had been broken, to be heaped in coffers. *No matter, the general said; since the metal remains, it will not cost us much to have them remade.*

Camus and Treilhard persisted in saying that the general had failed in the respect and obedience due to the Convention. Merlin and Gossuin, more reasonable, acknowledged that the general's conduct had been just, and a violent altercation arose between the two parties. Camus said, that it was a duty he must not decline, to report the general's conduct, to the convention. The general exhorted him to do so, and said that he had already, himself, rendered an account of his conduct. The general produced his letter of the 12th, which became a new subject of contention.

It was during this interview that Camus,
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the most irascible of men, said with an air, partly smiling and partly serious, *General, you are accused of designing to become Cæsar: and I design to become Brutus.* The general answered, *Dear Camus, neither am I Cæsar, nor you Brutus, and your threat is the best assurance I have of immortality.*

These commissioners, after three or four hours conversation with the general, departed the same night for Brussels. Camus was faithful to his promise. He drew up his report to the Convention, with all the bitterness of a perfidious and malignant mind; and, thenceforth, he became the decided enemy of Dumourier.

The general, on his part, returned to the consideration of the means left him to repair the faults of his officers, and to restore vigour to an army that no longer possessed the spirit which conducted them in the former campaign.

CHAP. V.

State of the army. Its position. The general's orders to the different divisions. He resolves to give battle to the enemy.

THE troops appeared to resume all their courage at the sight of their general. Joy and confidence shone in the eyes of the soldiers. They embraced the general. They called him their father. They discovered shame and sorrow for their disgrace, and loudly demanded to be led against the enemy.

Dumourier reproached them with their want of discipline, but above all with their mistrust of generals, who, till this fatal disaster, had conducted them to victory, and who were his scholars and companions. He represented to them, that their impatience, their want of subordination, and the fatal consequences of these in their retreat, had wrested the conquest of Holland from his hands, and
perhaps

perhaps had determined the fate of the campaign. They appeared extremely affected by their disgrace, and disposed to repair their faults, on condition that he would not abandon them, but would instantly lead them to recover their honour.

This disposition greatly aided the general in restoring order in the army. But he was also greatly assisted by General Thouvenot, who, with every other military talent, had that also of conciliating the minds of the soldiery, and infusing order into all the parts of a great army. With great pleasure, Dumourier renders this testimony of the merit of his friend, who may one day become one of the best generals of France, if he should return to the service of his country, and prejudice do not prevent his rising to the command.

The army amounted to near forty thousand infantry, and near five thousand horse; and this was exclusive of the garrisons of Belgium; of a division of 5000 men (800 of whom were horse) under the orders of General la Marliere; the division of Namur, under General d'Harville, consisting of 12,000 infantry, and 1500 cavalry; and of the corps of the army employed

employed in the expedition against Holland, which amounted to 18,000 foot, and 2,000 horse, after the junction of General de Flers.

The infantry, consisting of sixty-two battalions, were formed into four divisions. The right was commanded by General Valence; the centre by the Duke de Chartres, who, at that period, was named Egalité; and the left by General Miranda. Each of these divisions consisted of eighteen battalions, and amounted to seven thousand men. The reserve, consisting of eight battalions of grenadiers, commanded by General Chance!, was placed under the orders of the Duke de Chartres.

Miranda had under his orders General Miaczinsky, who commanded the left flank of the army, consisting of two thousand infantry, and one thousand horse; and General Champmorin, who commanded a body of five thousand foot and one thousand horse. General Valence had under his orders General Dampierre, who commanded the right flank, consisting of an equal force with that of General Miaczinsky; and General Neuilly, who commanded

manded a body of three thousand foot and one thousand horse.

The advanced guard was composed of six thousand men, fifteen hundred of which were horse, commanded by General la Marche. He was an old officer, who had seen a great deal of service, and had been an excellent colonel of Hussars. He was forward to undertake, an enterprize, but easily discouraged. He was assisted by two excellent officers, although they were very young, who counselled him with great success, when he would suffer himself to be counselled. These were Colonel Montjoye, who was adjutant-general, and Lieutenant Colonel Barois, who commanded the horse artillery. But the ill health of this old general, and still more his want of capacity, rendered him very dangerous.

The rapidity with which, in this war, officers rose to the highest ranks in the army, inverted the order of every thing. The corps and regiments lost officers that commanded them with effect, and the army acquired inexperienced generals. Yet the army was really in want of generals. At this period it had no more

more than five lieutenant generals, and twelve major generals, six of which commanded detached corps: so that there were but six remaining to command in the line.

When General Dumourier arrived at Louvain, on the morning of the 13th, he found that the three divisions of his infantry were encamped on the heights behind Louvain, having the canal of Malines in front. The reserve, with a small body of horse, was at the distance of two leagues, beyond Boutersem; and the advanced guard at more than two leagues, beyond the reserve, at Cumptich, having a small force of four hundred men in Tirlemont.

The enemy advanced and occupied all the villages between Tirlemont and Tongres. The design of the enemy was to turn our right on the 16th; and if that had been executed on the 13th or 14th, the advanced guard would have fallen back on the reserve, and the reserve on the main body; and the whole army would have been defeated and dispersed having no known point at which to rally.

On the 14th Dumourier visited his advanced guard

guard; and he instantly ordered several movements, by which the position of his army was much more firm and secure. He placed General Dampierre with the troops under his command at Hougærde to the right of Cump-tich, and ordered General Neuilly to advance from Judoigne to Lummen, in order to strengthen this right wing of the army and to extend the line beyond that of the enemy.

He commanded General Miaczinsky to take a position to the left, between Diest and Tirlemont, on the side of Halen, and having the river Gette in front of him. He ordered General Champmorin to occupy Diest, with his division. This general, having informed him that Diest was a small city with walls, which might be made a strong post, Dumouriet ordered him to add as much as possible to its strength, and to leave in it two battalions and fifty horse, when he should receive orders to march forward with his troops.

He commanded General la Marlière to leave a small body of troops at Aerschette, in order to keep open the communication with Diest; and to proceed with the rest of his troops to

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Liers to overawe the country of Campine, to check the Prussian column who might advance in that quarter, and to cover the retreat of the army of Holland, whom Dumourier concluded had abandoned the project of passing to Dort, and which indeed was the case.

He sent orders to General de Flers to throw himself with all possible dispatch into Breda ; to send Colonel Tilly to Gertruydenberg, with the garrisons named in the orders, and to send back the remainder of that army to the lines of Antwerp, to be placed under the orders of General Marassé. Dumourier ordered Colonel Westermann to take post at Turnhout, with the gendarmerie and the legion of the north, in order to protect this retreat, to check the enemy in that quarter, and to keep open the communication with General la Marlière, and by his division, with the grand army.

On the morning of the 15th of March, the advanced guard of the enemy attacked Tirlemont, and the 400 men who were posted there fell back, without engaging but with a loss, having suffered themselves to be surprised. General Dampierre, accustomed to retreats, took upon
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him; on hearing the firing at a distance, to abandon his post of Hougaerde, where he guarded one of the passages of the Gette, and fell back upon Louvain, at the same time ordering General Neuilly to retire on his side to Judoigne. Dumourier had not time to examine whether it were fear or treachery which caused this dangerous movement on his right. Had it been known to the enemy the French army might have been overthrown. Dumourier contented himself with repairing this fault, which was so much the more weighty, as it accustomed the troops to give way on the first appearance of danger; and on that same night he caused these two divisions to return to their former posts.

It was very singular, that on the left General Maiczinsky committed the same fault, and withdrew into the wood near Louvain, and was not to be found for two days. But the position he had quitted was occupied by the body of troops under General Champmorin, whom the General ordered on the 15th to proceed with the greatest dispatch to occupy the heights of Oplinter, on the left of Tirlemont.

H 2 Champmorin

Champmorin took that position on the evening of the 16th.

Fortunately the enemy, who had fixed the 16th for their march, discovered nothing of the retrograde movements of the 15th, and were not prepared to profit by them. On the same day, the General advanced with the whole of his army beyond Boutersem and near to Cumptich, to prepare for his revenge on the following day, and not to leave the enemy the advantage they had gained. It was absolutely necessary for him to take Tirlemont; since, otherwise, he must have fallen back, and again have subjected his troops to be discouraged and terrified.

The Imperialists, with a considerable advanced guard, occupied Tirlemont, and the space lying between the two Gettes, from the causeway of St. Tron, to the ground opposite the post of Hougaerde. On the morning of the 16th, the General made a vigorous attack upon the Imperialists. As the heights of Oplinter commanded the high road of St. Tron, when the general had made himself master of Tirlemont, (which he gained after some resistance) the Imperialists finding their
right

right flanked by the troops under Miranda on the heights of Oplinter, made a precipitate march, to pass a small arm of the Gette, to retire to the heights of Neerlanden, Nerwinde, Middlewinde and Oberwinde.

Between the two Gettes, at a league and a half on the right beyond Tirlemont, was a village named Gotzenhoven, which commanded the whole plain. It stood on a small hill; having hedges along the front, and ditches filled with water on the right and in the rear.

The Imperialists did not appear to perceive the importance of this post, till Dumourier had sent General la Marche, with his advanced guard supported with cannon, to take possession of it. At that time the Imperialists were still in possession of the two villages of Meer and Hattendover, and Dumourier caused these to be attacked by his columns as quickly as they could form after filing through Tirlemont. The Imperialists committed a great error in not occupying Gotzenhoven in sufficient force, as that post might have defended, or might have laid in ashes, the two villages of Meer and Hattendover. The Imperialists collected

a strong body of infantry and horse, to endeavour to dislodge the French from Gotzenhoven. They performed prodigies of valour in this attack, although without success. The cuirassiers charged the French infantry with the greatest intrepidity, even among the very hedges of the village, and their loss was very great. The attack was recommenced several times. The enemy attempted in vain to turn Gotzenhoven on the right, for General Neuilly, having passed the greater Gette at Lummen, had opportunely arrived in this quarter, with his division to take the position of Neerhelyffen. The engagement did not finish till four o'clock in the afternoon, when the Imperialists were in full retreat. It lasted at least eight hours between the advanced guards of the Imperialists and the French, which were nearly of equal force, and were both of them supported by the main bodies of their respective armies. The loss of the Imperialists was much greater than that of the French. The advantage remained with the latter, but they were on the point of losing their general at the attack of Gotzenhoven.

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This engagement, which cost the Imperialists more than 1200 men, entirely restored the courage of the French troops. Dumourier formed his army into two divisions, extending from Gotzenhoven to the high road, among the villages, which had been the field of battle. General Neuilly, stationed near Neerhelyffen supported the right. General Dampierre, having arrived on the evening of the engagement, was posted at Esmael, in front of the centre. General Miaczinsky arriving with his cavalry (his infantry consisting of eight battalions being left near Louvain), was posted at the bridge of the lesser Gette, opposite to Orsmael. A part of the division of General Miranda remained behind the great Gette, to the left of Tirlemont, extending to Oplinter; at which last place General Champmorin arrived with his troops during the night.

After this first success, Dumourier saw that it was necessary to take a decisive step. Troops were continually on their march to reinforce the Imperialists, and the French army had very inconsiderable or no reinforcements to expect. The Imperial cavalry was

double the number of that of the French, and in every respect greatly superior. It was impossible for the French to contend with a disciplined army, for the possession of the Netherlands, foot by foot; being in want of generals, incapable of executing prompt marches or bold important manoeuvres, in face of a numerous and experienced cavalry, and having behind them no strong and fortified places.

There was, however, a necessity for stopping the progress of the enemy, which could not be done without hazarding a battle. Under these circumstances sound and true prudence called on Dumourier to risk every thing, before the Prince of Cobourg should have received the remainder of the reinforcements for which he waited to begin the campaign. The two armies were of equal force. That which should attack would have the advantage in spirit and confidence, which always belong to the party beginning the attack. This advantage had, during fifteen days, been in the hands of the Prince of Cobourg; but General Dumourier had regained it by the issue of the engagement of Tirlemont.

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If General Dumourier should have the good fortune to gain a decisive battle, and such he resolved this to be, his situation would be entirely changed : for first, it would restore him in the opinion of his army to his former superiority, and would intimidate the enemy ; secondly, it would have secured the Belgians in his interest, and would have greatly forwarded the levies of twenty-five battalions which that nation had undertaken, and so would have strengthened his army by the acquisition of twenty thousand infantry, at the least ; thirdly, he would have regained the ground lost on the side of Liege, for the Austrians would not have been able to have held that city, nor even Aix-la-Chapelle, and would have been compelled to have intrenched themselves under the protection of Maestricht ; and lastly, it would have compelled the Prince of Cobourg to have repassed the Meuse, and would have so greatly weakened his army, as to prevent his retaking the field before the month of May.

General Dumourier's design was, in case of success, to have formed an entrenched camp, in a strong position, between the two Gettes,
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under the command of General Valence, who in that situation might have watched the enemy and might have received the different reinforcements arriving from France and Belgium; while General d'Harville might have been equally reinforced on the side of Namur. General Valence would have been master of the country, and would have held the Prince of Cobourg in check, Miranda would have been posted with an army at Antwerp, and General Dumourier advancing with 30,000 men, against Bois-le-duc, would have resumed his project against Holland, and would at once have forced the passages of the Moor Dyke, and Gorcum. But if he could not have penetrated into Holland, he might at least have made himself master of Dutch Flanders, by which means he would have covered his left, and would have procured arms, cloathing, money, and provisions.

In that case, he would have been independent of the National Convention, and probably might have been able to give it law, for the repose of his unhappy country, for the avenging of the death of Lewis XVI. and
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for the re-establishing of the Constitutional Monarchy.

On the contrary, should the general be defeated, he designed, in the first place, to take a position behind the canal of Louvain, in order for a while to cover Brussels, and to reinforce his army; secondly, to maintain the position of Namur, raising the corps of General d'Harville to the amount of 25,000 men, and to place the division of General Neuilly at Judoigne, to cover Dumourier's retreat by the forest of Soignies, for the purpose of supporting Brussels; thirdly, to assemble a body of 25,000 men near Antwerp, and, still holding Breda and Gertruydenberg, to keep the communication open to these places by means of the posts of Liers and Diest; fourthly, to assemble a body of 14 or 15,000 men on the side of Bruges, to cover Maritime Flanders; fifthly, to negotiate with the Imperialists for a suspension of arms, and mean while to endeavour to convince the troops in the different camps, that their want of subordination, together with the disasters resulting from it, was one effect of the absurd government of the Convention, that

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it was high time to put an end to the anarchy which would otherwise cause the entire ruin of France, and that on the army alone rested the hopes and fate of the Country. When the minds of the troops should have been sufficiently prepared, his next design was to reinforce the army with battalions of Belgians, who held the Convention and Jacobins in abhorrence, to declare openly in favour of a limited Monarchy, to lay hold of hostages for the security of the Prisoners in the Temple, and to march to Paris.

These were General Dumourier's objects previous to the battle of Nerwinde, and it will be seen how urgent his motives were for risking a decisive battle, and for using every effort to gain the victory. He never had the baseness to wish to be beaten. He earnestly strove to master events. Although he held the Tyrants of France in detestation, although he viewed with horror the cruelties that dishonored France, he was not the less solicitous to maintain the honor of his country, and to prove himself worthy of her confidence. In every case, and in every moment till the last, the end of his measures was to prevent a foe
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from giving law to France, and to save his country from insult or injury, and it is this which has drawn upon him the ill founded reproach, from misinformed persons, and in particular from the Elector of Cologne, of having changed his party only when he was vanquished.

Had he not previous to the loss of the battle of Nerwinde openly declared his hostility to the Jacobins by his proclamations at Antwerp and Brussels? Had he not imprisoned or driven out of the country the rapacious agents of the Convention? Had he not written his letter of the 12th of March? Had he not compelled the silver of the churches to be restored? Had not his correspondence with Pache, Beurnonville and Le Brun, (which was printed and which appeared also in the Monitors of March and April) declared the firmest truths and the freest opinions, respecting the authors of the miseries of France. If in those he did not speak of the royal family, it was that he feared his mention of them would become a signal for their death.

He who reads these Memoirs, and calls to remembrance the circumstances and the public

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lic documents of those times, will see that the opinions of General Dumourier has been consistent. He has been the zealous defender of his country. Her enemies have been his enemies, but the war he has made upon them has been open and generous; for his love of his country was neither fanatical, unjust, nor savage. The Emigrants, by whom he is detested as greatly as by the Jacobins, have, on all occasions, found him humane and liberal. In a war, differing from all others in character, a war of opinion, in which instability of principles and conduct might find excuse, he has no shifting of opinion wherewith to reproach himself, no perfidy, no cruelty, no insolence in success, nor weakness in misfortune and disgrace. In a word, moved only by humanity, he restored the Netherlands to the Emperor, as was acknowledged by the Archduke Charles, by the Emperor's Ministers and Generals, by his Army, and by the people of the country. Nor did he make conditions or reserves for himself. He did not demand an asylum in the Emperor's dominions. He demanded nothing of the Prince of Cobourg but his marching to Paris, with
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the object, and in the hope, of delivering his country.

Basely misrepresented to the emperor, denied a place of safety in the Emperor's dominions, which ought to have been free to him, though all others had been shut against him, he expects justice from time, which unveils the truth; and consoles himself in saying with Valerius Maximus,—*Perfecta ars, fortunæ lenocinio defecta, fiducia justa non exuiter, quamque scit se laudem mereri, eam etsi ab aliis non impetrat, domestico tamen acceptam judicio refert.*

C H A P. VI.

Battle of Nerwinde.

THE Prince of Cobourg advanced between Tongres, St. Tron, and Landen; and the two armies were in sight of each other. General Dumourier passed the day of the 17th in reconnoitring the position of the enemy, in forming his troops in order of battle, and in preparing his plan of attack. He had, in his front, the Lesser Gette, which rises in the township of Jaudrain, and runs almost parallel with the greater Gette, into which it falls below Leaw. This river ran between the two armies. Both sides of the river were extremely hilly; and the ground, on the side occupied by the Imperialists, formed an amphitheatre rising from the river to the more elevated situations of Landen and St. Tron.

Dumourier judged that the position of the Prince of Cobourg was by much the strongest on the side of Tongres and St. Tron; because

of the necessity of his drawing his provisions from Maestricht and Leige ; and that consequently his left, which was considerably extended on the side of Landen, must be more weak, and more liable to be turned, or broken.

Dumourier knew also, that the Prince of Cobourg had neglected to occupy the little city of Leaw, which was a very important post, and which might either serve as a centre to the motions of the army making the attack, or a point of resistance for the army that should be attacked.

In the front of that part of the enemy's line, which extended from Landen towards Leaw, were the three villages of Oberwinde, Middlewinde, and Nerwinde. Near Middlewinde was an eminence, called the Tomb of Middlewinde, which commanded the three villages, and a valley which separates them from the city of Landen. He, therefore, who should occupy this place, must be master of all the plain, and must necessarily, in case of an attack, repulse his enemy.

! On these facts, Dumourier laid down his plan for the battle, which was as follows. The first column, forming the right flank of the

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army

army, composed of the advanced guard, under General la Marche, proceeding by the bridge of Neerhellyffen, was to enter the plain between Landen, and Oberwinde; and to extend itself beyond the left of the enemy, in order to harass that flank. The second column, composed of the infantry of the army of the Ardennes, commanded by Lieutenant-General le Veneur, and supported by a strong body of cavalry, entering the plain by the same bridge, was to gain the tomb of Middlewinde by a rapid movement, and to attack the village of Oberwinde, which could not withstand a discharge of 12 pounders that were to be planted on the tomb. And while this attack should take place, the third column under the command of General Neuilly, entering the plain also by the same bridge, was to fall on the right of the village of Nerwinde.

These three columns formed the right wing of the army, commanded by General Valence, who, in case of success, wheeling to the left, and driving the left wing of the enemy before him, was to continue his march in order of battle, leaving Landen behind him, and having his front facing St. Tron.

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The centre, commanded by the Duke de Chartres, was composed of two columns. The first (which was the fourth column in the order of attack) commanded by Lieutenant General Dietmann, passing the river by the bridge of Laer, and rapidly crossing the village of the same name, which was only occupied by a few indifferent troops belonging to the Imperialists, was to press forward, and fall directly upon the front of the village of Nerwinde. The fifth column, commanded by General Dampierre, was to pass by the bridge of Esmael, and to attack the left of Nerwinde. These two columns were afterward to follow the right wing, forming a diagonal line with the point of their departure.

The left wing, under the command of General Miranda, was composed of three columns. The first (being the sixth in the order of attack) under General Miaczinsky, passing the river at Over-helpen, was to charge strait forward proceeding toward Neerlanden, but being careful never to press beyond the head of the fifth column. The seventh column, under General Ruault, was to pass the river at the bridge of Orsmael, and engage the

enemy by the high road of St. Tron. The eighth column, under General Champmorin, was to pass the river below Neerlinter, at the bridge of Bingen, and to throw itself into Leaw, which it was to occupy till the end of the battle.

In case of compleat success, the army at the end of the action would be ranged in order of battle, with the left wing at Leaw, and the right at St. Tron, and having its front toward Tongres; which was the only point by which the Imperialists could retreat. And batteries were erected on the banks of the Gette, within reach of the bridges, to protect the retreat of the columns, in case of their being repulsed.

On the morning of the 18th of March, between seven and eight o'clock, the several columns began to move in the same instant, in great order, and passed the river without obstacle. General la Marche committed the first error of that day. He entered the plain of Landen according to his instructions, but finding no enemy there, he made a movement to the left, to fall upon the village of Oberwinde, and thence was thrown into confusion

fusion by the second column. Although the troops of the second column were retarded in their march by their artillery, yet they attacked the village of Oberwinde, and the tomb of Middlewinde, with such vigour, that by ten o'clock they had carried those posts. But General le Veneur did not take sufficient precautions to strengthen himself in the latter post. It was soon after re-taken by the Austrians, and the possession of it disputed the whole day. General Neuilly briskly entered Nerwinde with the third column, and drove out the Imperialists; but, almost immediately abandoning the village, he advanced into the plain toward the second column. General Neuilly asserted, that he received an order to that effect from General Valence, who on his side declared, it was a misunderstanding of General Neuilly.

In a short time, the Imperialists re-entered Nerwinde; from which they were again driven, by the fourth and fifth columns, under the command of the Duke de Chartres. In this attack General Desforêts, an excellent officer, received a wound in the head with a musquet-ball. This part of the army fell into confu-

sion. The infantry crowded in too great numbers into the village, and were in such complete disorder, that on the appearance of a second attack from the enemy they abandoned the place.

General Dumourier arriving in this moment, caused the village to be once more attacked. It was again carried; but the troops presently quitted the village again, and all the efforts of General Dumourier prevailed no further than to rally them at a hundred paces from Nerwinde, which was filled with the dead and wounded of the two parties. But the Imperialists did not re-enter the village until the evening.

It was during the disorder in this quarter, that the Imperial cavalry rushing into the plain between Nerwinde and Middlewinde, charged the French cavalry; at the head of which was General Valence, who fought with great intrepidity, was wounded, and obliged to retire from the field of battle to Tirlemont. The Imperial horse were, however, repulsed with great slaughter.

While the horse were thus engaged, another body of cavalry entered the plain on the left
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of Nerwinde, and threw themselves with great fury upon the infantry of the fourth column. General Thouvenot, who was at the head of that column, opened his ranks to the Imperial horse, and immediately caused the regiment of Deux-ponts to make so timely and well directed a discharge of grape shot and musquetry upon that body of horse, that almost the whole of it was destroyed.

From that instant, the fate of the battle seemed determined in favour of the French, on their right and in the centre. The troops were again in perfect order, were full of confidence and courage, and passed the night on the field of battle, preparing to compleat their victory the following morning. The Imperialists have acknowledged that they were on the point of retreating, and that orders had been actually given to their baggage to retire to Tongres.

But it was quite otherwise with the French troops on the left. The sixth and seventh columns had attacked the enemy with great vigour; but, when they were already masters of Orsmael, a panic seized upon the battalions of Volunteers, and they fled, leaving the

troops of the line exposed. The Imperialists, seeing the disorder, charged the two columns with their horse, which put it entirely to the rout. Guiscard, Major-General of the artillery was killed, as well as great numbers of the Aids-de-camp and officers of the staff; and General Ruault and General Ihler were wounded.

Still, however, great opportunity remained of restoring the fortune of the day in that quarter. It was not more than two o'clock in the afternoon, when the columns fled. They repassed the bridge of Orsmael, and were not pursued further by the Imperialists. At that moment, General Miranda was informed, that the eight battalions of Miaczinsky's corps was arrived at Tirlemont. These troops were quite fresh, and General Miranda might have reinforced himself, by placing them on the heights of Wommerssem, on the side of the Gette next Tirlemont. But General Miranda, either being disconcerted, or, which is more probable, seeing the success of the right wing, commanded by his rival General Valence, he yielded to his resentment, and

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resolved to sacrifice him, ordered his troops to retreat; and retired behind Tirlémont, at more than two leagues distance from the field of battle. Whatever be the case, his conduct was perfidious in sending no advice of his retreat to General Dumourier, which exposed the right and centre of the army to the whole weight of the enemy. But the enemy did not avail themselves of this cowardly retreat; neither to cut off the left wing, which they might have compleatly done by continuing the pursuit to Tirlémont, nor to renew the attack upon the centre and the right, whose flank was entirely exposed to them,

General Champmorin, who had made himself master of Leaw, and had remained in that position, till he saw the retreat of General Miranda, did not abandon it till late in the day, when he repassed the river by the bridge of Bingen, which he cut down after him, and returned to his former position of Oplinter. And, perhaps, it was owing to the possession of this post at Leaw, that the Imperialists did not pursue their advantage against the left wing of the French,

French, on the retreat of Miranda ; since, in that case, General Champmorin might have taken their right in flank.

General Dumourier passed the whole time of action in regarding the movements of his centre and right wing, in re-establishing order in the different parts that gave way, and ensuring success in that quarter, which was the more essential, as it was charged with the whole weight of the manœuvres. At two in the afternoon, he observed, that the firing on his left, which till then had been very brisk, was ceased ; but he attributed this silence to success. The nature of the ground prevented his seeing the sixth and seventh columns ; and, during the firing of these columns, he could perceive they were advancing forward. He had, therefore, reason to suppose that, the enemy being driven in that quarter, the sixth and seventh columns had halted, that they might not overrun the head of the columns on their right. But no circumstances could lead him to conjecture the incredible retreat of General Miranda ; and he was, perhaps, happy in being ignorant of it, while he was repairing

repairing the disorders of his right and centre.

Toward the close of the day, he observed, that several columns of the Imperialists moved from their right to reinforce their left, which led him to suspect the truth; but it was as yet only suspicion, having received no message from General Miranda. In this situation, he passed the greater part of the evening before the village of Nerwinde. At length, his suspicions, which he had communicated to no other person than General Thouvenot, were succeeded by the liveliest inquietude. He departed for his left, accompanied by General Thouvenot, two aids-de-camp, and two domestics. Arriving at the village of Laer, at ten at night, he was utterly astonished to find that it had been abandoned by order of General Dampierre, who after conducting himself with great valour during the engagement, had in the close of the evening without orders repassed the Gette with his division, and retired to his former position at the village of Esfemaël.

General

General Dumourier, continuing his route, arrived near the bridge of Orsmael, which he supposed to be occupied by part of Miranda's troops, but found it was in possession of the Austrian Hulans, by whom he was on the point of being taken. He turned back; and proceeded, by the high road of Tongres, to Tirlemont: astonished with the silence and solitude that reigned around him, till he arrived within half a league of that city. He then learnt from three or four battalions, that were scattered in disorder, and without cavalry, along the side of the high road, the disaster and disgrace of his left wing.

In Tirlemont, he found General Miranda writing to his friends with great composure. General Valence had already used every effort to induce Miranda to return to the attack, assuring him that the French were victorious on their right, and in the centre; and that, by his return, success would be altogether insured. General Dumourier commanded him, in very severe terms, to assemble his troops immediately, even

even during the night, and to post them on the heights of Wommersem, on the high road, and on the bridge of Orsmael, as well as that of Neerhelpen, for the purpose of, at least, securing the passage of the Gette, and the retreat of the right and centre, now in the midst of the enemy's army, with a river behind them.

Such was the fate of the battle of Nerwinde ; which had been entirely successful on the part of the French, if General Miranda, instead of retreating, on perceiving the first disorder in his two columns, had lined the Gette with his troops, and had maintained the two bridges of Orsmael and Neerhelpen. This retreat was the more unfortunate, as the two columns lost above two thousand men, while the rest of the army did not lose more than six hundred, after a severe and obstinate contest, which cost the Imperialists more than fourteen hundred men. The French had about three thousand killed or taken, and more than a thousand wounded, and lost great part of their cannon.

In this engagement, faults were committed on both sides. The French did not attack
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the tomb of Middlewinde, which was the decisive point of the action, with sufficient vigour, and afterward abandoned that post without any visible necessity. General Neuilly, after the first success, put every thing again to hazard by abandoning the village of Nerwinde, on an uncertain order. Miranda, having already made himself master of the village of Orsmael, turned the fate of the day, by yielding to the terror of his troops, and commanding a retreat that became an absolute flight.

The Imperialists committed several errors : in not disputing the passage of the Gette ; in not falling upon the three columns of the right, both in front and in flank, while they were marching forward to the attack, and were exposed to the fire of the villages of Laer, of Nerwinde, Middlewinde, and Oberwinde ; in abandoning the elevated and advantageous post of the tomb of Middlewinde, and in not erecting a battery on it previous to the engagement ; in neglecting to occupy Leau, on their right ; and, finally, in not having availed themselves of Miranda's retreat, either in falling upon his troops, or attacking the left flank of
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the columns belonging to the centre of the French army, that were in the heat of the action before Nerwinde, by the whole of their right wing which no longer had an enemy in front of theirs.

CHAP.

C H A P. VII.

Retreat of the 19th of March. Action of Gottenhoven.

GENERAL Dumourier now saw the necessity of securing his retreat. The post of Leaw, on which the possession of the field of battle depended, was abandoned by his troops; and, in the dismay which had seized upon the other two columns of his left wing, the most he could hope was to lead them back to the banks of the lesser Gette, to induce them to pass the river, and return to the field of battle was impossible. These two columns had lost part of their cannon in their flight; the Generals, and superior officers of these troops, were in no condition to undergo the fatigues of a fresh combat; and, independent of the real loss of these columns by the sword of the enemy, more than 6000 men had deserted, and were on their road to Brussels and France.

Dumourier

Dumourier passed the remainder of the night in giving orders for the retreat of his centre, and right wing, which was then commanded by the Duke de Chartres, who conducted himself with coolness, courage, and judgment.

The Imperialists had in truth gained a great victory, but they were not certain of their situation. They had been so disconcerted with the important advantages gained by the right and centre of the French army, that they made no attempt to pursue their advantage over the left. They saw the French still in order of battle and ready to recommence the action, and they really imagined that the left wing of the French was about to return to its former position. Hence they threw no more obstacles on the French in their retreat, than the day before on their advancing to the attack.

This retreat was effected in open daylight, the columns repassing the river in the order in which they had advanced, and altogether with the same steadiness. Dumourier sent General Thouvenot to the right, to receive the columns, and place them in order of battle from Gottenhoven to Hackendower, while he took

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upon himself to assemble the columns of the left wing, and to post them on the heights of Wommersem, and at the bridge of Orsmael. The enemy's troops were already master of this bridge; and Dumourier, to prevent their advancing further on the causeway, sent orders to General Dampierre, posted at Esmael, to make a movement to the left with half of his division, for the purpose of flanking the causeway, and to maintain that position till the centre should have repassed the river, and then to retreat slowly to the new position that the troops were taking, with their right at Gotzenhoven, their left at Hackendower, and having the lesser Gette in their front.

This order, compleatly executed by General Dampierre, preserved the army from destruction; for the two columns that had fled had acquired such apathy from the shame of the preceding day, and were so scattered, that it was ten in the morning before Dumourier could form them, so as to march with good order to take post at Hackendower, on the right and left of the high road.

The first column of the Imperial army had passed the bridge of Orsmael, and had already
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formed with its artillery in the heights of Wormmersem. But Dumourier could never prevail on his troops to attack that post, which commanded the ground on which they had formed, although they were extremely harassed by the artillery on these heights, and sustained this incessant firing with unshaken constancy.

On this occasion Dumourier had nearly fallen. His horse was killed under him by a cannon ball. The readiness with which he recovered from this situation was the means of preventing new disorder, and probably a second flight which this circumstance was in the point of occasioning.

The troops, which in the action of the preceding day, had fled with such precipitation, now endured the terrible discharge of the Imperialists, with great intrepidity. But in this conduct General Dumourier perceived nothing more than a blind obstinacy, altogether destitute of the daring courage that he wished to excite in them. He exhorted them to charge with bayonets the enemy on the heights of Wommersem, and several times he put himself at their head, without being able to make

them advance; too happy, indeed, in seeing them continue firm in their position, which was eminently more dangerous than a vigorous attack on these troops, who, being separated from the rest of the imperial army, and having the river in their rear, might have been totally overthrown.

The left wing of the Imperialists betrayed the same disposition, occasioned by the same cause, as that of the French. These troops suffered the right and centre of the French to repass the river without molestation, and even to range themselves in order of battle in the position of Gotzenhoven, before they could resolve to pass the river in order to attack them. Thus, the whole day passed on both sides in manœuvring, with the exception of some cannonading and discharges of muskets. The two armies rested on their arms, in order of battle, the whole night, very near to each other.

This cool and steady retreat was the more admired by the Imperialists, because the troops did not fall back more than three quarters of a league, and seemed to be only returning in great order to the ground they occupied before the battle. During the evening

ing of the 19th, however, General Dumourier perceived by the apathy which pervaded his troops, that, should he make a stand the next morning against the enemy, he would be infallibly beaten.

There has been no period when the French soldiery could be conducted successfully without great regard being paid to their temper and their feelings ; and the importance of this circumstance, in conducting them in battle, has been eminently heightened by the revolution, which, having entirely destroyed military discipline, has increased the force of the intractable and capricious spirit belonging to the national character. The active and impetuous disposition of the French is calculated to carry them forward to conquest, but not to preserve conquests. A defensive and methodical war does not diminish their bravery, but it wearies and contradicts their impatient spirit. When once wearied and dispirited, the French troops being no longer restrained by the severity of military laws, abandon their leaders and their colours, and desert without the least thought of the consequences.

The troops of the line, still influenced by a remnant of their former military spirit, an attachment to their colours, and the fear of disgrace, continued firm, and were yet to be relied on by the General; but the national guards, composing three fourths of the army, declaring loudly that it was fruitless to lavish their lives in Belgium, and that they ought to return and defend their own frontiers, departed by whole companies and battalions. To have attempted to retain them by force would have been ineffectual, as well as dangerous.

No course was now left to Dumourier but to retreat with the troops, in good order, for the purpose of concealing their defections, and to prevent their being massacred by the Imperialists and peasants of the country. In this sad condition the General was constrained to pass the Greater Gette during the night, and to retire to the heights of Cumptich, behind Tirlemont. All his movements for this purpose, being performed with a precision that scarcely could have been expected from more disciplined, and even victorious troops, were attended with the greatest success,

cess. The Imperialists, deceived by the fires that were carefully kept up, and restrained by the vigour of the rear guard, did not put themselves in motion till the 20th, when they reconnoitred Tirlemont, from which the French had had time to withdraw their magazines. However, General Miaczinsky, who was charged with the evacuation of that city, lost one of his cannon by the precipitation of his retreat.

C H A P. VIII.

Retreat of the 20th and 21st of March.—Engagement of Neerwelve—La Croix and Danton at Louvain.—Engagement of the 22d of March.

DUMOURIER's position at Cumplich had the advantage of being considerably elevated above the Gette. In this camp his front faced Tirlemont; his left was secured by the river Welve, which turning short ran upon his rear by Boutersem and Wertryk; his right, posted behind Hougaerde, was not so well defended. The General, however, could not maintain himself long in this position, nor was it any protection to Louvain if the Imperialists should pass by Diest; nor to Brussels if they should turn by Judoigne. He, therefore, availed himself of the 20th of March, while the enemy were before Tirlemont, to pass the Welve, and encamp near Boutersem, having his right at Op and Neerwelve,

welpe, and his left on the heights and in the woods in front of Zuellenberg.

He sent General Neuilly, with his division increased to 6000 men, toward Judoigne, with orders to prevent detachments of the Imperialists from penetrating on that side, to watch their motions, and, if they should appear with a force greatly superior, to fall back to Brussels by the forest of Soignies. Dumourier gave General Neuilly instructions respecting the means of defending this forest, and wrote to General Duval to reinforce Neuilly with as many men as he could spare from the garrison of Brussels, and the new levies which might arrive there. He also ordered General Duval to arrest the deserters and send them back to his army.

He commanded General d'Harville to place a garrison of 2,500 men in the citadel of Namur, and to hold himself in readiness to march with the remainder of his troops, either toward Brussels, or in such other direction as should be rendered necessary by the motions of General Beaulieu, who was advancing with 8,000 or 10,000 men by the route of Huy.

Dumourier

Dumourier threw into Diest a garrison; which appeared to him to be sufficient; General Champmorin having inaccurately reported this place to be stronger than in fact it was. He posted General Miaczinsky at the abbey of Gempes, in communication with Diest. He reinforced the garrison of Malines. He sent General Ruault to Antwerp, to assist Lieutenant-General Marassé, and to take the command of the army in that quarter, which reinforced by the division of General La Marlière, amounted to more than 20,000 men. He recommended to General Ruault to hold the post of Liers as long as it was possible, and to fall back within the lines of Antwerp, if the Prussians and Dutch should advance upon him in too great force.

On the same day, the 20th of March, a detachment of the enemy without cannon, and inferior in numbers to the garrison of Diest, appearing before that place, the garrison fled in a cowardly manner as far as Malines. But the advanced guard of the Imperialists making an attack upon the villages of Op and Neer-welpe was repulsed.

While Dumourier was engaged in repuls-

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ing this attack, the commissioners of the Convention, La Croix and Danton, arrived in his camp, but he sent them to Louvain, where he followed them on the evening of that day. They appeared extremely affected with the recent defeat of the army, but in a still greater degree with the desertion of the troops ; having met at Brussels and in various parts of their route, entire corps returning to France. But, whatever was their concern on these subjects, their minds were much more engaged, as they said, in the execution of the commission with which they were charged : to prevail on the general to retract his letter of the 12th of March ; which, by its two great frankness, had stirred up the bitterest resentment of the Convention against him.

Dumourier answered that he had expressed no more in his letter than his real sentiments ; that the disasters to which they were witness were the necessary consequence of the evils of which he had complained ; that he sought only to remedy those evils by putting an end to the tyranny and injustice exercised in Belgium ; that the necessity which
they

they must perceive of his retiring from a country in which he had no means of defence ought to convince them of the prudent tenor of his proclamations, against which, the convention were prejudiced, only, because they were misinformed and betrayed; that those proclamations had induced the peasants of Belgium to lay down their arms, and had restored a degree of confidence between the French and Belgians, and were, therefore, the means of saving the troops who disorganized, beaten, disgusted and dispirited, were altogether incapable of defending themselves against the Imperialists, more numerous than themselves and flushed with victory, and at the same time against the people of the country, should the resentment of these latter be again excited.

The commissioners were constrained to acknowledge the justice of these representations; but still continued to insist on the general's retracting his letter. The general, after reviewing before them all the subjects of his complaints, and setting forth in the strongest manner, the misfortunes that were on the eve of resulting from the unwise and unjust

unjust conduct of the convention, made a positive declaration to the commissioners that he would in no part retract his letter, since the loss or the gain of a battle could not affect any change in his principles, opinions, or character. The Commissioners conducted this conference with much address and energy, and endeavoured to win Dumourier by the most flattering considerations. At length, after a very long contest, the general consented to write a few lines to the president of the convention, in which he requested, *that the convention would postpone their judgment on his letter of the 12th of March, till he should have had an opportunity of sending them an explanation of the reasons of that letter.* The two deputies departed with this unimportant declaration.

On the 21st, the general being informed of the loss of Diest, resolved to take a position nearer Louvain, lest the enemy, passing the canal, should cut off his communication with Malines, or fall upon Louvain itself. He posted the division of General Champmorin on the heights of Pellenberg, flanking his left by that of Miaczinsky, posted

at St. Peterstroede: General La Marche with the advanced guard on the heights of Corbec, skirting the high road: eighteen battalions of the army of the Ardennes, commanded by General Le Veneur, on the heights, and in the woods of Mezendaël: and the division of General Dampierre at Florival, in communication with General Neuilly's division, which fell back toward Tombeck, at the entrance of the forest of Soignies.

During these movements, the troops were harrassed by the Imperialists, who cannonaded them the whole day. On the morning of the 22nd, the enemy made a general attack on the posts of Pellenberg, Corbec and the woods of Mazendaël. Blierbeck was between the enemy and General Le Veneur, and he had thought proper to occupy it. A column of Hungarian grenadiers made themselves masters of this village but were driven out with great slaughter, and with the loss of two pieces of cannon, by the regiment of Auvergne, commanded by Colonel Dumas. The attack on the advance guard was less vigorous, but that on the post of Pellenberg was
extremely

extremely bloody. General Champmorin defending himself with equal courage and ability. He received a strong reinforcement during the attack, and the enemy were unable to make any impression on his lines. This action was extremely hot, and lasted the whole day. The Austrian columns suffered great loss, and were compelled to retire.

On the evening preceding this brilliant action, General Dumourier had occasion to send Colonel Montjoye to the head quarters of the Prince of Cobourg, to treat respecting the wounded and the prisoners. He there saw Colonel Mack, an officer of uncommon merit, who observed to Colonel Montjoye, that it might be equally advantageous to both parties to agree to a suspension of arms. Dumourier, who had deeply considered the dangerous situation of his army, sent Montjoye again to Colonel Mack on the 22nd, to demand if he would come to Louvain, and make the same proposition to Dumourier. Colonel Mack came in the evening. The following articles were verbally agreed to: First, that the Imperialists should not again attack the French army in great force, nor

General

General Dumourier again offer battle to the Imperialists. Secondly, that on the faith of this tacit armistice, the French should retire to Brussels slowly, and in good order, without any opposition from the enemy. And lastly, that Dumourier and Colonel Mack should have another interview after the evacuation of Brussels, in order to settle further articles that might then be mutually deemed necessary.

This stipulation, the first that was entered into between the two generals, became hourly of more importance to Dumourier. His army was greatly diminished, especially in officers. He had scarcely ammunition for a battle; and, unfortunately, he was well persuaded that, in case of a serious attack, he should be abandoned by his army.

He had sufficient proof of this on the following day. The Imperialists thought themselves so little bound by the articles agreed to by Colonel Mack, that General Clairfayt (who was ignorant of these articles) fell upon the advanced guard and the troops posted at Pellenberg. The action became general along the whole front of the army. Champ-
morin

morin defended himself with the same obstinacy as before; but toward the close of the action, when the Imperial infantry were actually retiring, and there was no longer any enemy before the army, excepting some light troops, old General La Marche became suddenly terrified; and, notwithstanding, the intreaties of Montjoye, de Barois, and other officers of distinction, he retired in great confusion, first, to the abbey of Duparc, and afterwards to the other side of the river Dyle, behind Louvain.

The Imperialists, who acknowledged a loss of 700, men (that is to say 2000 in both actions) were so much discouraged that they took no advantage of this cowardly retreat, which left a very dangerous interval between General Le Veneur and General Champmorin.

General Le Veneur had fought with great vigour during the whole action, but, seeing himself abandoned by La Marche, he also passed the Dyle, without waiting for any orders, and posted himself between Coorbeeck and Heverle.

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After the defection of these two divisions, Dumourier was compelled to order General Champmorin to abandon Pellenberg, and to retreat also behind Louvain, passing through the city, and by the abbey of Vlierbecke.

General Miackinsky retired by a bridge on the high road of Diest, being protected by a battery of cannon placed on the heights above.

Dumourier availed himself of these two days, to remove his wounded, and the flower for his army, in boats, to Malines. Other articles belonging to the troops were thrown into the river; but the confusion attending the evacuation of Louvain, and the avarice of individuals, caused a great quantity of these articles to fall into the hands of the enemy, who entered Louvain that very evening, as the general retired with the garrison, consisting of five battalions, which formed his rear guard. The Imperialists also took some boats laden with wounded, which the escort abandoned on sight of a few hussars. These wounded soldiers were treated with great humanity, notwithstanding the atrocious calamities,

lumnies of the Jacobins, spread with a design of irritating the French troops, and of instigating them to make war without quarter, and with greater barbarity.

The disgraceful retreat of the French from Louvain, is among the instances that prove how delicate and dangerous is the situation of the generals commanding the French armies. Having determined on their plan of attack or defence, and having given their orders for its execution, they will be continually subject to defeat and ruin, if they have not other plans in reserve to stand in the place of orders ill executed or disobeyed: they can have no reliance on the generals under their command, who are frequently the first to give the example of disobedience, and sometimes of cowardice: they can never depend for a moment on the real strength or position of the corps that are not in their fight, since officers, as well as men, desert or change their position at pleasure: they have no means of remedying these ills, since they dare not punish, being certain of making most dangerous enemies of those whose faults they do but reprove: they are ever in danger of want-

ing even food for their troops, because the ancient system of providing necessaries for the army has been changed, to serve the purposes of ignorant and selfish men: and, they will seldom dare to hazard the great movements that decide the fate of war, with soldiers, who, though presumptuously brave, are destitute of good officers, are ill armed, inexperienced, easily discouraged, mutinous, fond of reasoning, and altogether let loose from military law.

But, if a General be notwithstanding successful, the calumnies of the Journals and Clubs await him, and he is sure of being accused before the suspicious, blind, and imprudent Convention. If he be unfortunate, the whole weight of responsibility is thrown upon him, and he is branded with the name of coward or traitor.

Such is the situation in which the Republic of France places her generals in a war, on which depends, not only the political existence of the nation, but the individual liberty of every citizen. Dumourier has been replaced by Dampierre, who had the good fortune to be killed in battle; Dampierre by Custine, who

who perished on a scaffold; the latter by Houchard, who was disgraced the moment that he had defeated the Duke of York, and raised the siege of Dunkirk; and it is the detestable Jourdan* who now commands the army, which alone stands between Paris and the vengeance of the powers of Europe.

In Alsace, on the southern frontier, and in the interior part of France, we have seen the same succession of generals. Every old and experienced officer has been driven from the service; and physicians, painters, and postillions command armies. It is said that Caligula made his horse consul. People of France, become as degenerate as you are cruel, you yourselves prepare the instruments of your destruction!

* We are assured by emigrants, arriving here from the army, that it is not Jourdan, of Avignon, who commands the armies.—*Note of the Editor* §.

§ By the above note it appears that Dumourier had mistaken General Jourdan, who defeated the barbarians at Maubeuge, for Jourdan the Assassin of Avignon. T.

C H A P. IX.

*Retreat to Brussels.—Evacuation of Brussels.—
Camp of Enghien.—Camp of Ath.—Con-
ference at Ath with Colonel Mack.—The
Arrest of General Miranda.*

THE disorder accompanying the retreat from Louvain utterly checked the energy the army had displayed in the two preceding combats. Happily, night concealed this universal defection of the troops from the enemy, who, notwithstanding the verbal stipulations agreed to by Colonel Mack, would probably have seized upon this opportunity to destroy or entirely disperse the French army.

Dumourier with great difficulty prevailed on the troops to halt on the heights of Coz-tenbergue, half way on the road to Brussels. And this new calamity induced him to make an entire change in the disposition of the several corps under his command. He sent an

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an order to General Duval to prepare for the evacuation of Brussels. He removed old General la Marche from the command of the advanced guard, which he gave to General Vouillé. He formed this advanced guard, which was now become the rear guard, of a strong body of the artillery, of all the cavalry of the army, and of twenty-five battalions, almost the whole of which were troops of the line. He himself took post in this rear guard which amounted to near 15,000 men, and which indeed might be said to be his army. The other part of the troops marched under the protection of this chosen body, which behaved in a manner worthy the importance of its station.

Dumourier established his camp under the walls of Brussels, by the side of the little river of Woluwe, having his right at San peters woluwe, and his left at Vilverde. Having taken the precaution of transporting his park of artillery to Anderlecht, he sent it off on the 23d to Tournay, by the road of Enghien and Ath, keeping only the cannon necessary for his rear guard.

The Prince of Cobourg, who was ignorant of the deplorable condition of the French

troops, no doubt deemed himself happy in the suspensions of arms which procured him possession of the Netherlands, without further combat. But resistance on the part of Dumourier could only have tended to lay waste the country without enabling him to keep his footing in it. Since the Emperor Joseph demolished the strong places of those Provinces, they are destitute of any point that can resist an invading army; a battle gained gives the conqueror fifty leagues of country, or perhaps drives the vanquished to the extreme frontier.

The engagements entered into by Colonel Mack were faithfully observed by the Prince of Cobourg, who remained three days at Lovain, sending only small detachments to hang upon Dumourier's rear guard. The General was therefore at liberty to provide for the safety of Brussels, and of the other great cities through which the French army were compelled to pass on their retreat. Justice and humanity demanded that the Belgians should not be pillaged, and it was essential to avoid every means of irritating them. They had pardoned the excesses committed by the French, and had rendered them new services, and it was a duty
to

to avoid opening the recent wounds of the country, since in that case despair would have again driven them to arms, and the French, surrounded by the Austrians and Belgians, had been entirely sacrificed.

On the 25th, the army passed through Brussels, observing the greatest order and good conduct, and proceeded to Hall, from whence the General designed they should march in two columns to the frontiers of France. No pillage was committed by the troops, nor were any insult offered, or reproaches made on either part. The inhabitants of Brussels did not forget this service rendered them by General Dumourier. They have expressed their remembrance of it by marks of public esteem*. Dumourier reflects on the justice they have done him with pleasure, and he would not have been proscribed, and a fugitive had he every where found equal justice.

* Dumourier will be ever respected and beloved by the Belgians. It was in the attempt to save them from the decree of the 15th of December that he fell. They will never forget the courage and humanity he exerted in their behalves. The EDITOR ventures to make this promise in the name of his country. Note by the Editor.

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The General's object now was to provide for the safety of the different detached forces, and to concert such movements as that their retreat might keep pace with his.

While General Beaulieu was penetrating with seven or eight thousand men by Huy, the Prince of Hohenloe was advancing by the province of Luxemburg against Namur, which was occupied by 15,000 men, under the command of General d'Harville. But this division had been formed at the expence of the garrisons of Givet and Maubeuge; and the Prince of Hohenloe, turning by one of these places, might make himself master of it, and penetrate into France.

Damourier commanded General d'Harville to leave 2500 men with provisions and ammunition in the citadel of Namur; and, dividing the remainder of his troops in two columns, to send one to Givet under the command of Lieutenant-general Bouchet, and to retire with the other toward Maubeuge; halting first at Charleroy, and afterward posting himself on the heights of Nimy above Mons. In this position General d'Harville would cover Maubeuge, la Quesnoy, Condé and Valenciennes;

ennes ; and, as he would be reinforced at Mons with the division of General Neuilly, consisting of 6000 men, his division would be augmented to 12,000 men, beside the reinforcements daily arriving.

In answer to these instructions, General d'Harville informed Dumourier, that he had neither provisions, ammunition nor money sufficient to provide for the citadel of Namur scarcely for fifteen days order ; that he must either abandon the citadel or defend it with the whole of his division ; and demanded of General Dumourier determinate orders in what manner to conduct himself. With these dispatches from General d'Harville, came also letters to the same effect from General Bouchot, and documents from the Commissary Barneville that justified his statements.

Dumourier had no need to deliberate upon the orders it was necessary to give General d'Harville. To leave this division at Namur, was to risk the loss of Givet or Maubeuge, both in want of troops, and had either of them fallen into the hands of the enemy, the division of Namur would have been easily surrounded ; and to leave 2500 men in the citadel, without

without money and ammunition, was in effect to deliver them to the Austrians. He therefore ordered General d'Harville entirely to evacuate Namur, and retire in good order to Givet and Maubeuge.

Dumourier considered the six battalions posted in Breda, and the three in Gertrudenberg, as lost, yet their having provisions for four or five months, and great store of ammunition, would, he knew, enable them a considerable time to stop the progress of the Prussians and Dutch. In order to keep open a communication with this division of his army, Dumourier saw it was necessary to secure the citadel of Antwerp, and commanded General Berneron to post himself in that citadel with 2000 men, and six months store of provision.

Dumourier appointed Lieutenant-General Omeron to the command at Dunkirk, and along the sea coast of the department of the North; and ordered him to repair the lines and forts of the intrenched camp between Dunkirk and Bergues; to form an intrenched camp on Mont-Cassel; to go in person to Courtray to take upon him the command of the army of Holland, and to post it in the

camp of Haerlebecke, having the Scheldt in front.

He sent orders to General Marassé and General Ruault, to make their retreat, passing the Scheldt by the extremity of Flanders through Ghent, to the camp of Courtray, or Haerlebecke, while the garrison of Malines should retire to the same place by Deuermonde along the Scheldt; being careful not to precipitate their retreat, and to cut down the bridges after them.

General Dumourier's design was, if he could have held the citadels of Namur and Antwerp, to have formed a strong line, without the territory of France, running from the the right to the left by Namur, Mons, Tournay, Courtray, Antwerp, Breda, and Gertruydenberg. In this situation, if the suspension of arms should have continued, he hoped to have greater influence on the reestablishment of order in France. In the case of the suspension of arms being broken, the Imperialists finding themselves in the centre of a semicircle, would be compelled to commence their attack at the two extremities to proceed with safety, which would turn the campaign into a war of sieges.

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on their part, carried on at the expence of their own territory. Thus Dumourier would have gained time to re-organise and reinforce his army: which, having the strong places of France behind it, might have been restored to its former confidence.

On this supposition Dumourier would have occupied the city of Tournay, and the camp of Antoing; from which place, if the enemy had been greatly superior, he could have retired to a very strong position in his former camp of Maulde.

In pursuit of this plan (which had undergone no other change, than that of the evacuation of the citadel of Namur) he marched on the 26th to Enghien, and on the 27th to Ath, while the division of General Neuilly, marched to Mons by Hall, and Braine.

At Ath, he received orders from the Convention, to arrest the colonel of the 73d regiment of infantry, (who had abandoned the army without orders, taking with him his two battalions, and returned to France,) and also General Miranda. Dumourier executed the order that respected General Miranda with regret, since he was persuaded, that this rigorous

rous measure was less an act of justice, than the effect of the hatred of the Jacobins against Pethion and the Girondists, who were the friends and protectors of Miranda. This general found means to escape the danger in accusing Dumourier, after his quitting the army; an event which was extremely favourable to Miranda.

On the same day Colonel Mack arrived at Ath; a verbal agreement was again entered into between that officer and Dumourier; but this was in much more formal terms than the former. The colonel began by expressing the acknowledgements of the Imperialists, for the peaceable manner in which the retreat of the French troops was conducted, in consequence of the prudence of General Dumourier's orders; by which means the country was spared the most frightful disasters. On the other hand, he noticed the moderation shewn by the Imperial general, who, while he forbore to harraßs the French troops on their retreat, took care, nevertheless, to conceal from both armies the connivance between the two generals.

It was agreed upon by Dumourier, and
Colonel

Colonel Mack, that the French army should remain some time longer in the position of Mons, Tournay, and Courtray, without being harrassed by the Imperial army; that General Dumourier, who did not conceal from Colonel Mack his design of marching against Paris, should, when their designs were ripe for execution, regulate the motions of the Imperialists, who should only act as auxiliaries in the execution of their plan; that, in the case of Dumourier's having no need of assistance, which was to be greatly desired by both parties, the Imperialists should not advance farther than the frontier of France, and that the total evacuation of Belgium should be the price of this condescension; but if Dumourier could not effect the re-establishment of a limited monarchy, (not a counter revolution,) he himself should indicate the number and the kind of troops which the Imperialists should furnish, to aid in the project, and which should be entirely under Dumourier's direction.

Dumourier made Colonel Mack acquainted with his design of marching the following day to Tournay, with the march of General Neuilly

Neuilly to Mons, and of the army of Holland to Courtray.

It was finally decided, that in order to combine the operations of the Imperial troops under the Prince of Cobourg, and those under the Prince of Hohenloë, at the time when Dumourier should march to Paris, Condé should be put into the hands of the Austrians, as a pledge; that the Austrians should garrison the town, but without any pretensions to the sovereignty, and on the condition that it should be restored to France, at the conclusion of the war, and after an indemnity should have been settled between the two parties; but that all the other towns belonging to France, should, in the case of the constitutional party needing the assistance of the Imperialists, receive garrisons, one half of which should be French troops, and the other half Imperialists, under the orders of the French. General Valence, General Thouvenot, the Duke de Chartres, and Colonel Mountjoye, assisted at this Conference.

C H A P. X.

Camp of Tournay.

ON the 28th, Dumourier marched to Tournay, and took the position of Antoing, having his advanced guard in Tournay, and the flanking corps of the left, commanded by General Miackzinsky, on Mount Trinity. He sent General le Veneur with the army of the Ardennes, to occupy the camp of Maulde.

In this city was Madame de Sillery, with Mademoiselle d'Orleans, whom the general had never till then seen. These ladies had taken up their residence at Tournay, on the advice which Dumourier had before this given to Lieutenant-General Omoran, who then commanded in the Tournaisis; because Mademoiselle d'Orleans, who was no more than fifteen years of age, was proscribed in France by the decree against the Emigrants. This

This young Princess (who as well as her brothers, the Duke de Chartres, and the Duke Montpensier, is perfectly well bred, and well informed) is an example of virtue, resignation and constancy.

The Duke de Chartres, who had served the preceding campaign with distinguished valour, and a pure and disinterested patriotism, and who had recently displayed a degree of courage, and civism, reflecting honour on the French name, was included in the decree of banishment, rendered against the house of Bourbon, and would have been subject to the cruelest vexations the moment that he should enter France.

Dumourier, during the two days that he passed at Tournay, testified by every circumstance in his power the lively concern that he took in the fate of this unfortunate and amiable princess. As both she and Madame de Sillery were greatly in dread of falling into the hands of the Imperialists, because of the influence which they supposed the emigrants to possess with the Emperor, Dumourier on his departure from Tournay, caused them to be conducted to St. Amand. When the gene-

ral's protection, far from serving, might have been fatal to those ladies, they accepted of an assylum in Mons, offered them by the Imperial generals. If the virtues of Mademoiselle d'Orleans do not find their recompense, at least, may she find protection from the hands of a beneficent Providence.

While Dumourier remained in the camp of Tournay, he received intelligence, that General Neuilly's division, on arriving at Mons, instead of encamping on the heights of Nimy, had pillaged the magazines, and afterward fled in total disorder (without, however, being attacked by the enemy,) to Condé, and Valenciennes. The cavalry only remained with General Neuilly, and Dumourier commanded him to retreat with those to Condé, spreading over as much ground on his march as he could between Binche, Roeux, Soignies, and Leuse; carrying off with him the forage, horses, and carriages, and cutting down the bridges behind him.

The evacuation of Mons rendered Dumourier's situation at Tournay, very dangerous, his right being altogether unprotected; but, independent of the suspension of arms, his

his knowledge of the country made him secure of his retreat, which he was unwilling to undertake, till he should have known what movement was made by his left. He, therefore, only took the precaution of commanding General d'Harville to confine himself within the camp of Maubeuge and Givet, in order to prevent the enemy from penetrating on the French territory, on that side.

On the 29th of March, three deputies from the Jacobins arrived at Tournay. They introduced themselves to the general by saying, that they bore a commission from Le Brun; and, presenting a letter from that minister, conceived in vague and uncertain terms; they declared they had communications to make to him respecting the affairs of Belgium. These three men were Proly, a contemptible adventurer born at Brussels; Desjardines, a writer of little note, who had been formerly driven from Brussels; and Péreira, a Portuguese Jew. The first of these we have seen was already known to the general; the second called himself a man of letters, and the third was a furious Jacobin. They were offended that the general refused

to enter on the subject of their embassy, before Mademoiselle d'Orleans, to whose apartments they had expressly come to utter a Philippic against the General. He made an appointment to meet them at his own quarters.

The conversation that took place between Dumourier and these men, is pretty nearly such as they have reported it to be. They agreed with him in his opinion of the imbecility of the convention, and on the necessity of dispersing that assembly, and establishing some other legislature. After that, they founded the general respecting the persons who should succeed the convention in their authority; and one of them ventured to say, that the Jacobins had their president, registers, tribunes, orators, as well as the habit of discussing or determining great concerns; and that, therefore, there was no need to look further. Dumourier, in his usual sincere and decisive manner, utterly rejected this idea; grounding his objection on the immorality, rashness, cruelty, and incongruous qualities of that society; to which all the

the misfortunes of France, he declared, were to be attributed.

Proby said, *how then will you be able to replace the present representatives of the people, and at the same time avoid the delays and other defects of the mode of election by primary assemblies?* The general answered, *nothing is more simple, or more easily accomplished. The patriotism of the administrators of the departments and districts is, at present, well tried and approved. For this one time, it is but to take all the procureurs-general of the departments and districts; and to complete the number by members of the department and districts. These will form a very competent legislature; they will re-establish the constitution of 1789; all divisions will be healed in France; the Royalists will lay down their arms; foreign powers will no longer have any colour for carrying on the war, and France, having a solid government with which they can treat, will listen with readiness to terms of peace: for do not imagine, the general added, that the Republic can continue to exist; your crimes and your ignorance have destroyed its possibility.*

These three men made some objection to the general's propositions, but they listened very tranquilly to those *blasphemies* of the general, of which they afterward gave so dreadful an account. Desjardines, who proceeded further than the rest in his address and artifice, said, that he should return to Paris to give an account of his mission; and that he hoped soon to see the general again. They took their leave of Dumourier without molestation; and certainly, he never thought of arresting emissaries of such little consequence.

General Dumourier has no doubt that, had he seconded their idea of replacing the National Convention by the society of Jacobins, he had entirely gained the confidence of that society; but he acknowledges that his temper, perhaps too sincere in this instance, robbed him of the possibility of seeming to yield to their measures. He instantly perceived that he could not turn this instrument to his purposes, but by plunging into a series of horrid crimes; and the events that have succeeded, have proved to him, that his judgment was not erroneous.

On the same day, he received a letter from the seven commissioners of the convention, met at Lille, who commanded him to appear in that city, to answer to the charges alledged against him. He answered, that being in sight of the enemy, employed in re-organizing his army, and restoring its courage, (which was indeed true) he could not quit the army for an instant; but if the commissioners would come to him at Tournay, he would answer every accusation with his usual frankness; that when he should have accomplished his retreat, and the army should be safe in the French territory, he would have more leisure to take into consideration his personal affairs; in a word, that he would never enter Lille, excepting it should be with troops to punish cowards, who had abandoned their colours and calumniated the most intrepid defenders of their country.

C H A P. XI.

Retreat to the Camp of Maulde.

GENERAL Dumourier was extremely uneasy respecting the fate of the troops at Antwerp; having received no intelligence from that quarter, and fearing indeed, that General Ruault who bore his orders to General Marassé, had fallen into the hands of the enemy.

The retreat from Antwerp across the Scheldt, by the extremity of Flanders, was long and difficult. But Dumourier knew that the enemy were less numerous in that quarter than the troops at Antwerp. The Prussians and Dutch were before Gertruydenberg and Breda; and Colonel Mylius, who presented himself before Antwerp, had not more than 2000 men, and those were irregular troops of the Imperial army.

But the French troops at Antwerp had fallen into still greater disorder than any other
part

part of the army. They were seized with a panic, and the generals were no longer masters of them. On the 26th, Colonel Mylius had the audacity to summon the city. Part of the French troops had already crossed the Scheldt, but, instead of waiting for the remainder, they precipitately retired by Bruges to Dunkirk, excepting a small body of them, which Colonel Thouvenôt prevailed upon to halt at Ghent. General Marassé had sunk the Ariel frigate according to Dumourier's instructions, after sending away her masts, rigging, and guns, by the canals, to Dunkirk. He had also sent away part of the magazines of the garrison, but a great part still remained, and more than 8000 men.

As the terror and confusion which before had spread among the troops redoubled on the approach of Colonel Mylius, a council of war was held, in which it was unanimously decided, that it was more prudent to save this part of the army together with the magazines and other effects belonging to the French nation, than obstinately to risk the loss of the whole.

It

It is impossible for Dumourier to form a candid judgment of this capitulation, since the rapid succession of important events that followed, prevented him from any perfect knowledge of the circumstances of the garrison. The Imperialists are extremely dextrous in the disposition and conduct of their advanced guards, multiplying them to the eyes of an enemy, and misleading the enemy respecting their real force. It is also to be presumed, that the French generals, embarrassed and disconcerted by the disorder prevailing among their troops, imagined the whole Prussian and Dutch army to be before the place. No excuse, however, is to be made for their having surrendered the citadel, which was altogether independant of the city, and in no one case ought to have been included in that capitulation.

On the 27th or 28th of March, the French troops quitted Antwerp. None of them passed by Courtray, and they were not at liberty to encamp at Harleebecke, as had been designed. They entered the French territory in different bodies, and at different times, and part of them were disposed of by General Omeran

Oméran in the camp of Cassel and the lines of Dunkirk, and the remainder helped to form the Camp of Madelaine, near Lille.

It was not till the 29th that Dumourier received intelligence of this dispersion of more than 20,000 men of his army, and even then his intelligence was unaccompanied by any detail. The dispersion of the body of troops under Neuilly, and the evacuation of Mons, had exposed his right, and this of Courtray now exposed his left to still greater danger, which the enemy might turn, approaching by the left of the Scheld, and if he should be compelled to retreat before the enemy in the present disposition of his troops, he had nothing to expect but to be compleatly routed.

For these reasons, he resolved to raise the camp of Tournay in the morning of the 30th. He had before this, sent General le Veneur to occupy that of Maulde. He sent the army of the North, by the bridge of Mortagne, to encamp in the strong position of Bruille, which he ordered to be joined by three bridges to the camp. He sent General Miaczinsky with 4000 men to occupy Orchies, to secure a communication with Lille, and he established his

his head quarters with his park of artillery at St. Amand.

By the unexpected surrender of the citadel of Antwerp, the garrisons of Breda and Gertruydenberg were entirely cut off from all communication with the army. They amounted to near 6000 men, that were on the point of being sacrificed without the hope of assistance, and without any service to ensue to France. Dumourier, therefore, sent orders, through the medium of Colonel Mack, to General de Flers, and to Colonel Tilly, who commanded in those two places to capitulate, in condition of being at liberty to march to France with arms and baggage. This was accordingly done ; and was an important service rendered France, since one half of the army had already deserted.

At this period the safety of the frontier towns in France was entirely owing to the suspension of arms ; for had the Imperialists pressed forward, such was the disorder prevailing in the French army, they must have penetrated the frontiers.

In the midst of this chaos of things, and of the discontents and disorders that resulted in

the French army, the troops never ceased to express an attachment to their general, rendering justice to his efforts to preserve them from ruin. The rear guard, and the troops of the line especially, who had always seen him the last in every retreat, in the day or at night, and always exposed to the greatest danger, were moved with respect, and even compassion for the general, and with extreme resentment against his enemies, the Jacobins and the National Convention. A wish for the re-establishment of a limited Monarchy was almost general in the army. A few of the battalions of volunteers only dared openly to espouse the Republic. The cavalry, and the troops of the line, were altogether decided; and the artillery declared that, in every case, they would defend their general. It was openly proposed to march to Paris, and to overthrow the Anarchists, to whom the army justly attributed the whole of their disgrace and misfortunes. It being said that the general was to be commanded to appear at the bar of the National Convention, their constant language was, that they themselves would

would conduct the general to Paris, and would share his fortunes.

Dumourier attentively observed this disposition in the troops, which he saw was supported by the complaints of the generals, and of the greater part of the other officers. These latter, seeing the generals under whom they had been conducted to victory, outraged in the Jacobin Journals, accused of treachery, arrested, and treated without regard to decency or Justice, naturally concluded, that their own elevation to the superior ranks, would but expose them to the same disasters. Some of the generals, however, among whom was Dampierre, kept up a perfidious correspondence with the leaders of the Anarchists; and, hoping to supplant their superiors, by the aid of the present disorders, they loudly proclaimed the same doctrines as their colleagues of Paris, and by their false insinuations kept alive the Jacobin phrenzy that infected part of the army.

The two parties were now in the greatest fermentation, and the contest tended to an issue which could not but be prompt and violent. Three Commissioners of the Convention

tion, Lequinio, Cochon, and Bellegarde were in Valenciennes; these already treated the army and its generals as rebels, would not permit any communication between them and the garrison, and stopt their convoys of provision and money. They were bold enough to hazard a manifesto against Dumourier, which they sent to the army, and the garrison of Condé.

The garrison of Condé, consisting of four battalions and a regiment of cavalry, under General Neuilly, were extremely divided in opinion, but they seemed to incline to support Dumourier, to whom General Neuilly was altogether attached.

At Lille, the contest was still more marked and more violent. The Commissioners of the Convention, who had made this place their point of union, and the Jacobin Club instigated an extremely numerous populace against the higher ranks of citizens. On the other hand the soldiers, especially the troops of the line, broke out into tumults, and spoke loudly in behalf of their general, and against the Anarchists. But they were without leaders, and their measures were void of plan and conduct.

duct. Assignats were also successfully distributed among these troops, and the same means were employed in the army under the general's immediate command, and even with those nearest to his person.

The Commissioners of the Convention also endeavoured to accomplish their designs by assassination. On the 31st of March, six volunteers, of the third battalion of La Marne, demanded leave to speak to the general, who ordered them to be introduced. They entered with their hats on, the back part being placed in the front, having the word *Republic* chalked on them. They made a long and fanatical harangue to the general, the purport of which was, that they, and many others of their comrades, had sworn to send him to the bar of the National Convention, or, in imitation of Brutus, to stab him. Dumourier answered with great composure and gentleness, that they were blinded by a mistaken zeal; that they could not but perceive the unfortunate condition of France; and that the rage with which remedies were applied, served only to prove the impossibility of maintaining the Republic, since an unjust and unrestrained

government could not long exist. While the general spoke, they approached with a design of surrounding him, which, perhaps, would have been effected, but for the intrepidity of the faithful Baptiste, who seized upon the foremost, and called the general's guard to his assistance. The volunteers attempted to resist, but they were overpowered; and the general not only saved their lives, but prevented their being ill treated. He contented himself with securing their persons in prison.

The indignation of the army was general; and on the same day the different corps presented addresses signed by individuals of every rank, professing an inviolable attachment to their general; and the greater part of them expressing their desire of marching to Paris to re-establish the constitution.

After hostilities had been thus commenced by the Commissioners of the Convention, and after the troops had thus declared their wishes, Dumourier set about the means of making himself master of Valenciennes, Condé, and Lisle; without which he could strike no blow of importance.

He now readily acknowledges that, although he did not for a moment lose sight of his object, he failed in neglecting means which, doubtless, were necessary at that period ; but which he was induced to reject by his aversion to perfidy and cruelty. He relied too confidently on the strength of his legitimate means, and on the good faith and conviction of his troops ; and he neither counteracted his enemies by corruption, nor destroyed the more inveterate of them when it was in his power. A measure was proposed to him that was probably essential to his interest. It was, to assemble the troops of the line in a camp, apart from the rest, and to disarm and disband the national guard. But this could not be accomplished without a dreadful effusion of blood ; for there had long existed an extreme animosity between the national guards, and the troops of the line. There were many of the battalions of national guards, who had served under his command with great valour, and had lately presented addresses to him, couched in loyal and strong terms ; and he could not prevail on himself to recompence them with disgrace,

grace, or perhaps, with death. And, if he should make exceptions in the execution of the plan, those might include disguised anarchists; and he could no longer rely with safety on his troops.

History presents no example of opinion having agitated the passions of men to so excessive a degree, of having so greatly disfigured their characters, and of having so completely bereaved them of all the social affections, as in the French Revolution. The love of liberty was a noble passion in 1789. It became licentious in 1790 and 1791. By the successes of the year 1792, the love of freedom, instead of being exalted into heroism, degenerated into a blind, insolent, and barbarous phrenzy; and the period that we are reviewing in these memoirs added to the ferocity of its spirit.

The struggle for ascendancy was not equal between Dumourier and the Jacobins. His means were enfeebled by his scruples. The crimes of the Jacobins were not to be crushed but by crimes more incredible than these; corruption was to be opposed by corruption, and treachery and cruelty to the atrocities and

horrors of the Jacobins. The sect of the Jacobins was not to be annihilated but by a monster more frightful than itself; or by a foreign sword. And hence the sequel of this history, is no more than an account of the mistakes of Dumourier; who embraced the incompatible designs of preserving his own esteem, and purging the nation of her crimes.

In a conversation he had formerly held at Louvain with Danton and la Croix, on a proposal made by those Commissioners relative to a conduct they wished the general to adopt in Belgium, by no means very reputable; the general observed (and he has since repeated the observation to Camus) that he would never commit an action which he regarded as a crime, even for the salvation of his country. He has since been told that Danton said, *General Dumourier wants energy; his mind has never risen to the true revolutionary pitch.* The revolutionary pitch rose after that period; and Dumourier, who has not changed, could not but fail in the struggle, since to succeed it was necessary to display crimes greater than those with which he had to combat.

Dumourier

Dumourier sent orders to General Miaczinsky, who was at Orchies, to march with his division to Lille ; to arrest the Commissioners of the Convention, and the leaders of the Clubs ; to proceed from thence to Douay and remove General Moreton from the command of that town ; to proclaim there and at Lille the unanimous resolution of the army to restore the Constitution ; and afterward to proceed by Cambrai to Peronne, where he was to take post. This unfortunate general did not sufficiently perceive the importance of his charge. He spoke of it to various persons, and among the rest to St. George, the celebrated Mulatto, Colonel of a regiment of Hussars, who betrayed the general and drew him into Lille with a very small escort. The moment Maiczinsky entered the town, the gates were shut upon him. He was arrested, conducted to Paris, and brought to the scaffold. This officer was a native of Poland, and was one of the chiefs of the confederation, at the time that Dumourier was charged by the court of France to direct its operations. Miaczinsky had been made prisoner in an engagement with the Russians ; and afterward, claiming an in-

demnity from France, in which the General could not find means to serve him, he had obtained for him the rank of major-general, and permission to raise a free corps, and had afterward employed him with great utility to France and the army. Miaczinsky, brave in war, did not display the same courage in his personal defence when he was taken, nor at his death. He accused Dumourier of various crimes against the nation ; and even of some gross frauds, that were no doubt suggested to him by the enemies of Dumourier. He also accused la Croix, which was the cause of his ruin.

Miaczinsky's troops, after they were quitted by that officer, wandered on the Glacis of Lille, into which place the garrison would not admit them. Dumourier, receiving intelligence of this, sent one of his aids-de-camp, Colonel Philip de Vaux, to put himself at their head, and to conduct them to Orchies and Douay. De Vaux was arrested through the treachery of a brother officer, taken to Paris, and executed. He died with great courage and constancy.

Philip de Vaux was born at Brussels, had served in Austria, and had afterward
taken

taken part against the Emperor in the revolution of his own country. Dumourier had known him at Paris, and appointed him his aid-de-camp. He was a man of capacity, of great courage, and of an exalted and feeling mind. In fine he possessed the qualities necessary to make a general officer.

The garrison of Valenciennes was commanded by Major-General Ferrand, whom Dumourier had raised to the rank of Colonel, and afterward to that of major general; and whom he believed to be attached to his interests. This officer was of an age not very liable to be heated with opinions; and, till this period, had appeared to be well informed and moderate. But characters moulder away before opinions, and Ferrand became one of the most intemperate of Dumourier's accusers, and one of the firmest supports of the anarchists.

The grand provost of the army, named l'Ecuyer, demanded of Dumourier as a favour, the charge of arresting the Deputies at Valenciennes. He was no sooner in that city, than he became their confidant, and instrument; although by a strange accident he perished afterward

afterward on the scaffold. While he was in Valenciennes he had written a circumstantial letter to the general, respecting the arrangements he had made for arresting the deputies, and this letter was found in the pocket of the general's great coat, on the 4th of April.

These two men, Ferrand and l'Ecuyer, undermined the general's plan for making himself master of Valenciennes; these being at first confidentially communicated to them; and they effected an entire change in the disposition of the troops which he had contrived to send there.

Dumourier's design on Lille and Valenciennes, being thus suddenly defeated, he had no other resource than to make himself master of Condé. The situation of the army, on the extreme frontier of France, was become altogether embarrassing. The army depending upon the strong towns for subsistence, Dumourier was compelled either to disband them, or to join the Imperialists, unless he could obtain possession of one of the strong towns. The first of these measures would have deprived him of all resource, and given a decisive victory to the Anarchists. The second was repugnant

repugnant to the feelings of the general, and the troops, inspired by the laudable principle of national honour; and he could not have obtained the universal consent of his army to this measure, since the opinions of the troops were divided; and since the indefatigable intrigues of the Jacobins had wrought such a change in the disposition of the soldiery. And the latter was impracticable because, the General had no artillery to undertake a siege; his artillery being sent to Lisle when he retreated from Belgium. The third of these measures also, must have produced a civil war. A regular siege would have demanded length of time, during which the soldiery would have made the same reflections that operated on the mind of Dumourier, and which continually restrained him in the plans that seemed necessary to his object: these reflections regarded the horror of seeing Frenchmen combat each other, having foreigners for spectators, to whom both parties would have become a prey, when they should be mutually incapable of further resistance.

Dumourier therefore thought of leading his army to Paris. But he could succeed in that,

that, only in having the majority of opinions with him. Every other expedient was at once painful and uncertain. Every day, every hour diminished his hope. He beheld his situation, without deceiving himself, and without being subdued by his difficulties. He regarded them under every aspect, and he cannot now recollect the first five days of April without horror.

- C H A P. XII.

*Arrest of the Commissioners of the Convention,
Camus, La Marque, Bancal, and Quinette;
and of Beurnonville, Minister of War.*

ON the first of April, General Dumourier, in order to be nearer his army, and to favour a project of surprizing Valenciennes, (which had been proposed to him, and which failed by the misconduct of the general officer who was charged with its execution,) removed his head quarters from the city of St. Amand to the suburbs; where was stationed a chosen body of cavalry, and where he was also nearer Condé. Various circumstances had prevented his proceeding in the first instance to the latter city, but in that neglect he committed a great error, and perhaps it was the cause of completing the ruin of his affairs. Perhaps it had been better if he had at first established his head quarters at Condé; but the events that passed in

in that period were so sudden and unforeseen, he was so effectually shut out from intelligence, and was so compleatly ignorant of all that passed beyond Valenciennes and Lille, and he was so entirely occupied in observing and moulding to his purpose the dispositions of his army, that to blame or justify the conduct into which he was driven by this strong chain of circumstances, it is necessary to have been in his situation.

Perhaps even it is well for him that he did not make himself master of Condé, for if the inconstancy of the French character had then caused a defection in his army, being in the center of that strong city, he had been delivered up to his enemies, or massacred by his own troops.

The commissioners of the Convention availed themselves of Dumourier's hesitation in this respect to visit Condé, and to issue proclamations, circulate assignats, and fill the town with emissaries of the Jacobins. The sixth regiment of infantry, the only corps of troops of the line which had discovered a decided spirit of Jacobinism, and a battalion of National guards of Versailles,
struck

struck terror into the mind of General Neuilly, who thenceforward was no longer master of the place; although he persuaded himself that he was, and continued to assert it to Dumourier, who too long relied on his ill-founded confidence.

In this battalion of Versailles, was a captain of the artillery company, named le Coin-tre, son of the celebrated deputy of that name of Versailles. This young man declaimed vehemently against the advocates of the constitution; and, being rudely handled on that account by some dragoon officers, he quitted the garrison to lay his complaints before Dumourier, who caused him to be arrested, that he might have an hostage for himself, in the person of the son of one of the most furious among the members of the *Mountain*. Dumourier also caused to be arrested a lieutenant-colonel, an officer belonging to the staff of the army, who declaimed openly and vehemently against him: and having no secure place in which he could keep these prisoners, he sent them together with the six volunteers, who had attempted to assassinate him, to Tournay; requesting

General

General Clairfait to keep them as hostages in the citadel.

Lieutenant General le Veneur, who at the time of La Fayette's desertion had followed that officer, and who was indebted to Dumourier for his pardon, and his re-establishment in his rank, now came to Dumourier to demand permission to retire from the army, on the pretence of being in an ill state of health. His object was, to obtain the command of the army of the Anarchists. Dumourier granted him permission to retire, and also to a general named Stetenhoffen, a foreigner whom Dumourier had made major-general. Dampierre, was at Quesnoy with his division, and carried on a treaty with the commissioners of the Convention, as did also General Chancel, who was cantoned at Freines. And their example was followed by General Rosieres, and General Kermorvan, who had the command of the Belgians in the camp of Bruille.

Dumourier was the more affected by these instances of treachery, because all those officers had been indebted to him for their rank, had complained more loudly than any others

others against the anarchists, and had pressed with more seeming impatience the execution of his design of restoring order. Excepting Dampierre who died in the command of the army, and Chancel who replaced Neuilly at Condé, and was obliged to surrender after a long siege, these officers have been punished for their ingratitude, by the suspicions and disdain of their patrons, and the loss of their employments. This unhappy example of the treachery of superior officers, who were in appearance most attached to the cause of the general, could not fail to produce a pernicious effect on the soldiery, and add strength to the party of the Jacobins.

Dumourier now saw that he could no longer hope to march to Paris without opposition from his army, as the temper of his troops at first seemed to promise. He saw that he would have to commence by a civil war, which he had always thought of with repugnance; and to compel one part of his troops to combat the other, a dreadful extremity for a general who regarded his soldiers as his children, and who had

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never

never conducted them but by his kindness, and the influence of a mutual affection.

Another circumstance rendered him timid, and deprived all his measures of energy. This was, the danger of the prisoners in the temple. It was to be feared that the Jacobins would instantly sacrifice these unfortunate victims, whom they already treated too unworthily to afford any hope that they would spare them in the first moments of their fear and resentment. Had those prisoners been sacrificed in consequence of Dumourier's march to Paris, he would have incurred the reproaches of Europe, and history would have consigned him to infamy; while he would have prepared for himself an anguish, that would have endured through the remainder of his life.

General Dumourier from the time of his being at Tournay, incessantly meditated on this dreadful circumstance. Beside General Valence, the Duke de Chartres, and General Thouvenot, who partook of his councils, he also confided his thoughts on this subject to Colonel Montjoye, and Colonel Nordmann, colonel of the regiment of Berchiny. He

proposed to send those two officers with three hundred hussars to Paris, on the pretext of arresting deserters, and sending them back to the army. He meant to have given them dispatches to the minister of war, which would have justified their going to Paris, and would have given it a natural air in the case of their being interrogated. They were to proceed as covertly as possible by the forest of Bondy; and afterward, reaching the prison by the Boulevard of the temple, were to force the guard, making false attacks in several different points, carry off the four illustrious prisoners, placing each of them behind an hussar, and having a voiture ready in the forest, to push forward with the utmost speed to Pont St. Maxence, where another body of cavalry were to be posted to receive them.

But to this end it was necessary to be in possession of either Valenciennes, or Lille; and the circumstances that followed defeated the project, to which those two worthy officers, whom we have just named, were altogether devoted. There remained no means of saving the illustrious prisoners from

the rage of the Jacobins. To form a conspiracy in Paris demanded time, and the emigrants had so ill succeeded in attempts of that nature, that it had been madness in the general to have placed any confidence in such a plan. Deprived then of all hope of delivering the prisoners, the general had no other resource in their behalf, than to possess himself of hostages for their safety. Hence he had so anxiously sought to seize upon the commissioners of the Convention at Lille, and Valenciennes; and he was now determined to detain such as might put themselves into his power.

On the morning of the 5th of April, a captain of Chasseurs, whom Dumourier had posted at Pont-a-Marque, on the road between Lille, and Douay, with fifteen trusty and resolute men under his command, with orders to arrest any couriers, but above all the commissioners of the Convention, if they took the road from Lille to Paris, brought him advice that Beurnonville the minister of war had passed them on his road to Lille, and had informed him (the captain of Chasseurs) that he should afterward proceed to the

the head quarters of his friend General Dumourier. The intimacy that subsisted between this minister and the General was known. Dumourier was astonished that he had received no courier from Beurnonville, nor any manner of advice respecting his journey, at a time when the General could no longer doubt of his being proscribed, and when the *Rubiicon* was already passed. This was the first and the only intimation which Dumourier received to prepare him for the important scene that followed.

About four o'clock in the evening, two couriers came to the General to announce the arrival of the minister of war with four commissioners of the National Convention. Terror and despair were painted on the countenance of these messengers. Interrogated by some of the staff officers respecting the cause, they did not hesitate to say that General Dumourier was utterly lost, that the commissioners came to conduct him to the Bar of the Convention in virtue of a decree, but that the General would never reach Paris, since assassins were planted on the road by bands of twenty and thirty, at Gournay;

and Senlis, in order to murder him. They even indicated who these assassins were, being Soldiers belonging to two new raised regiments, called the Hussars and Dragoons of the republic. The General had broken a Squadron of the Hussars, for having refused to obey their Colonel, and had sent them back to France on foot and without arms, which the Jacobins had restored them in order to assassinate their General. The regiment of Dragoons consisted of men who had committed numerous crimes at Paris, from which they had been sent with great difficulty to join the Army, where they attempted to repeat their crimes. Their conduct was cowardly, and atrocious, and the General was compelled to act with severity toward them on his retreat from the Netherlands. They afterward deserted and fled to Paris, whence they were now dispatched to be the accomplices of the Hussars.

Immediately afterward the minister of war appeared, followed by the four commissioners, who were Camus, la Marque, Bancal, and Quinette. The minister after embracing the General, with expressions natu-

ral to their mutual attachment, informed him that the commissioners came to notify to the General a decree of the National Convention. General Valence was already with Dumourier, and the rest of the staff officers now crowded into the apartment. Partaking of the opinions of their general as they had partaken of his fatigues, dangers, victories, and defeats, his fate was not to be separated from theirs; and indignation rather than inquietude was expressed in their looks. Dumourier saw that this temper of mind might break out into violent consequences, which induced him the more to preserve the composure with which he was determined to act in this critical moment.

Dumourier would be unjust if he did not offer the homage of his esteem and gratitude, to those generous men, who in the midst of his disgraces preserved the constancy of their friendship to him, and their attachment to principle, by sacrificing emoluments and honors, to follow him in his retreat. Nor can he forbear here to record the magnanimity of General Valence, who being offered the command of the Armies on condition of

arresting Dumourier, not only spurned at the offer without hesitation, but concealed the dangerous temptations laid before him by the commissioners of the Convention from the knowledge of Dumourier.

Camus spoke for the members of this deputation. In a manner that expressed some degree of irresolution, he requested the general to go into another room with the deputies, and minister of war, in order to hear a decree of the Convention respecting him. The general answered, that as all his actions had ever been public, and as the subject of a decree passed by seven hundred persons could be no mystery, he saw no reason for complying with the request, and thought that the officers who were present ought to be witnesses of whatever should pass in this interview. Beurnonville, however, as well as the deputies, urged the request with such appearance of respect that the General went with them into an inner room, but his staff officers would not permit the door to be closed, and General Valence entered the room with him.

Camus presented the decree to Dumourier; who, having read it with perfect composure, returned

returned it, and observed, that forbearing
 within certain limits to condemn a decision
 of the National Convention, he could not
 but judge this order to be untimely, since
 the Army was disorganized and discontent-
 ed, and since his quitting it in that condi-
 tion would be followed by its total dissolu-
 tion: that it would be prudent to suspend
 the execution of the decree, till he should
 have restored the Army to its proper footing,
 when he would be ready to render an account
 of his conduct; and when it might be decid-
 ed whether circumstances required or per-
 mitted his appearance at Paris: that he read
 in the decree; an article empowering the
 commissioners to suspend him from his func-
 tions and appoint another General, in the case
 of his disobeying the order; that the Con-
 vention having charged them with a com-
 mission including such severity toward the
 general, and of so delicate a nature with re-
 spect to themselves, had certainly relied no
 less on their prudence than on their firmness,
 that therefore he would throw himself on
 their discretion and would not positively re-
 fuse obedience, but merely demand a delay
 in

in the execution of their order; that, in fine, being now judges of all the circumstances, they could easily resolve on the conduct that became them, and if they were determined upon suspending him, he would meet them half way, by himself offering his resignation to them, which he had so often tendered during the last three months to the Convention.

Camus replied that the deputies had no authority to receive the General's resignation; and then said, *But if your resignation were accepted of, what would be your conduct afterwards? I should act as should become me, the General answered; but I have no hesitation in declaring to you, I will neither by going to Paris subject myself to be treated unworthily by fanatics, nor to be condemned to death by a revolutionary tribunal.—Then you do not acknowledge the authority of that tribunal, said Camus.—I recognise in it, replied the General, a tribunal of Blood and of Crimes, to which I will never submit while I have a sword that will not deceive me. I moreover declare, that had I the power I would abolish it, as being a dishonour to a free Nation.*

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The other three deputies, who were men of much more temper and moderation than Camus, perceiving that the conversation became intemperate, interposed, and endeavoured to convince the general that the Convention had no inimicable designs against him; that he was loved and esteemed by every one, and that his presence in Paris would destroy the calumnies of his enemies; that his absence from the troops would not be long, and that the deputies and minister of war would remain with the army till his return. Quinette offered to accompany the general to Paris to be the pledge of his safety, and to return with him, making the most fervent protestations that he would personally expose himself to all danger in the general's defence. After this, the conversation became cool and temperate. Bancal, a man of reading and talent, endeavoured to win the general by his regard for his name, and cited examples of obedience and resignation to the laws in the most celebrated of the Greeks and Romans. *Let us have done with mistakes,* Sir, said the general; *we degrade the Roman history; and disfigure the Roman virtues,*
that

that they may serve as an excuse for our crimes. The Romans did not massacre Tarquin. The Roman republic possessed a stable government and just laws. They neither had a Jacobin club, nor a revolutionary tribunal. We are in a state of anarchy. Ferocious men thirst for my blood, and I am not willing to give it them. Since you seek your examples among the Romans, I tell you, that I have often acted the part of Decius but never will that of Curtius.

The deputies assured Dumourier that he had formed an unjust idea of the state of Paris; and that indeed he was neither called before the Jacobins, nor the revolutionary tribunal, but to the bar of the National Convention, and that he would speedily return to his post.

I passed the month of January at Paris, said the general, and surely that city has not become more reasonable since, especially in this moment of public danger. I know, by the most authentic of your journals, that the Convention is governed by Marat, the Jacobins, and the tumultuous tribunes filled with the emissaries of the Jacobins. The Convention has not the power of saving me from the fury of these men; and, if it became the respect that

I owe

I owe myself to appear before such judges, even my deportment would provoke my death.

Camus then returned to his categorical question. *You refuse to obey the decree of the Convention?* The general answered that he had already stated to the deputies his view of the subject. He urged them to take a moderate course, and exhorted them to return to Valenciennes, and from thence to make a report to the Convention, setting forth the general's reasons, and supporting those, by shewing the impossibility of taking the general from his army at this instant, without incurring the greatest risk of disbanding it.

Dumourier acknowledges that, had they yielded to these counsels, he should have been imprudent enough to have permitted their departure. The colleagues of Camus appeared by no means to be unwilling to listen to reason, although on his part, he rudely repulsed every conciliatory measure. *Call to mind,* said one of them, *that your disobedience in this case will cause the ruin of the republic.*

—Cambon said in your tribune amidst bursts of applause, answered the general, *that the fate* of

of the republic rests not upon any one man. I have, beside, to observe that the name of republic does not belong us; our condition is an absolute anarchy. I swear to you that I have no desire to elude enquiry. I promise you on my honor, a pledge that is inviolable with military men, that when the nation shall have a government, and laws, I will give a faithful account of my actions and motives. I will myself demand a trial. At present, it would an be act of insanity in me.

The conference lasted more than two hours, but this which has been stated was the exact purport of it. The deputies retired into another chamber to decide on the course they should pursue.

Dumourier was at this period deceived respecting the designs, and conduct of General Beurnonville; in consequence of which he has made unjust complaints of that minister. He learned afterward from a virtuous and impartial man, that Beurnonville was constant in his friendship to Dumourier; and the gross accusations of Marat against that minister is an additional proof of the fact; and

Dumourier

Dumourier is eager to make this public
avowal of his error.

It is certain that Beurnonville, being
several times appealed to by Dumourier
respecting the conduct he would observe in
this case, constantly said, *I cannot advise you.*
You know what it becomes you to do. As soon
as the deputies were withdrawn, the general
complained that Beurnonville had foreborne
to give him intelligence of the approach of
this important event, at the same time
however requesting him to join the army,
and again to take upon him the command
of the advanced guard. Beurnonville an-
swered, *I know that I shall fall a sacrifice to my*
enemies, but I have resolved to die at my post.
My situation is terrifying. I see you are decided,
and that the step you will take is of the most
desperate kind. I demand as a favour at your
hands that you will not separate my fate from
that of the deputies.—Be assured that I will
not, answered the General. Dumourier was
at that moment unjust to the magnanimity
of Beurnonville, whom he considered to be
perfidious, or at the best, unworthily carried
away by circumstances. May he receive some

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consolation in this justice rendered to him by Dumourier. And may his heart, justly offended, be open to receive the atonement of his friend !

Beurnonville, Valence, and Dumourier returned to the officers, who impatiently waited the result of this long conference. But their inquietude was not entirely dissipated, for the general did not then acquaint them with the resolution he had taken. These officers have since told him that, had he consented to go to Paris, they would have prevented it by violence.

When the deputies first arrived at the general's quarters, the regiment of Berchiny was drawn up in the court yard; and the general had commanded colonel Nordmann to select an officer on whom he could rely, together with thirty men, and to hold them in readiness to execute his orders. The passions by which the troops were agitated were forcibly expressed in their looks, and the general exerted his influence to moderate them.

In the interval while the deputies were deliberating, Dumourier in walking met

doctor Menuret, surgeon to the army, and said to him, *Well doctor, what remedy shall we apply to this wound?* Menuret answered quickly, *the same as in the preceding year at the camp of Maulde: a grain of disobedience.*

In about about an hour the deputies returned to the General's room, Camus much agitated, said harshly, *Citizen General, are you ready to obey the decree of the National Convention, and to go with us to Paris?* The General replied, *Not in this instant.*—Then, said Camus, *I suspend you from your functions. You no longer command the armies. I forbid all persons to obey you, and command every one to assist in arresting you. I will go myself and place the seals on your papers.*

A murmur of indignation was heard. *Give me the names of those persons,* Camus cried out rudely, pointing to the officers around him. The General answered, *They will themselves give you their names.*—*I have now other employment,* replied Camus, who no longer knew what he said: *I demand your papers.*

Dumourier now saw that the emotion of his officers was at its height and on the point of producing some rash action.

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He said, in a firm tone, *This is insufferable. It is time to put an end to such insolence.* And, in the German language, he commanded the Hussars to enter. He then ordered the officer of the hussars to arrest the four deputies, and the Minister of war, but not to do them any personal injury, and to leave Beurnonville his arms.

Camus then said, *General Dumourier, you are about to destroy the Republic.*—Say, rather *it is you, old madman,* the General replied to him.

They were conducted into another chamber; and after having dined were conveyed in their own carriage to Tournay, escorted by a squadron of the hussars of Berchiny. Dumourier sent a letter to General Clairfayt, saying that he sent him hostages, who would be responsible for the excesses that might be committed at Paris. He requested General Clairfayt to treat the Minister of war, with more distinction than the rest.

Such were the facts relative to the arrest of the Commissioners of the Convention, which was a measure forced on the General by circumstances. As to the act of delivering them
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into the hands of the Imperialists, it is to be remembered that Dumourier had no fortress in which he could keep them in safety, and that the Imperialists being as deeply concerned as himself in the fate of the prisoners of the Temple, they could not be placed in any hands so sure. They could be detained merely as hostages, nor was there any danger to their personal safety, their detention being simply an act of precaution in the part of Dumourier. Besides, it is to be recollected, that the Prince of Cobourg consented to act on the footing of an auxiliary to General Dumourier, in this war, for the overthrow of the Jacobins, and for the re-establishment of the Constitution. Hence these hostages were not really prisoners of the Imperialists, but those of General Dumourier, for whom they held them. The deputies and the Minister of war were sent to Maestricht, where they were kept till a change of circumstances required their removal.

This event is one more instance of the blind precipitation attending upon all the measures of the National Convention. It is to be remarked also, that Camus, who went post from Liege to vote for the death of Louis the XVI.

had in this last instance, suddenly quitted the frontier, to procure the arrest of General Dumourier, had himself dictated the decree, and had demanded to be charged with its execution. It was therefore that he was so unrelenting during the conference, lest his colleagues should have yielded to persecution, and should have returned to Valenciennes, as they were counselled to do by the General.

C H A P. XIII.

Attempt to assassinate General Dumourier on the 4th of April. Events of the 5th of April. Departure of General Dumourier.

IMMEDIATELY after this important event, Dumourier sent Colonel Montjoye to acquaint Colonel Mack with the circumstance; and to appoint a time and place, for a conference between the General and Colonel Mack, for the purpose of finally concluding upon the terms of their treaty, and for settling the measures that should be reciprocally taken, according to the conduct that should be adopted by Dumourier's army after this decisive period. Being informed that a congress of the Ministers of the Combined Powers would speedily be held at Antwerp, Dumourier sent General Valence to Brussels that he might be nearer the neighbourhood of the Congress. During the night, Dumou-

rier composed a short manifesto, which was digested and put into form the following day. In this, he drew up a recital of the facts of that day, and exposed his motives for arresting the Commissioners of the Convention. He particularly insisted on the necessity of possessing hostages, a regard for whose safety might prevent the crimes in which the Jacobins might otherwise indulge on learning the event.

On the morning of the 3d of April, the General went to the camp, and addressed the troops on the part he had acted, who appeared to approve of it with enthusiasm. He went afterward to St. Amand, in which place were the corps of artillery, who testified the same approbation of the General's conduct, as the troops in the camp, although the most indefatigable zeal to seduce this corps was employed by the emissaries of the Jacobins of Valenciennes, and especially by two of Dumourier's superior officers, one of whom, a Lieutenant-colonel named Boubers, had received very particular obligations from the General.

Dumourier deemed it prudent to sleep at
St. Amand,

St. Amand, for the purpose of marking his confidence in the troops there; and at this place Colonel Montjoye brought him the answer of Colonel Mack. It was agreed that the following morning the Prince of Cobourg, the Archduke Charles, and the Baron de Mack should meet General Dumourier, between Bouffu and Condé, for the purpose of resolving on the movements of the two armies, and respecting the direction of the succours that should be granted of Imperial troops in the case of Dumourier's having occasion to demand them.

The whole day of the 3d of April passed with as great success as the General could expect. The army appeared of one mind, with the exception of some murmurs that were heard among some of the battalions of volunteers: and a movement which the General prepared to make on the 5th, was calculated to banish the secret means of intrigue. The General designed to take a new position with the greater part of his army near Orchies, by which means he would remove the troops from the dangerous neighbourhood of Valenciennes; would destroy the leisure that

belongs to a permanent camp, and in which intrigues have the greatest scope for action; and would be able to menace Lille, Douay, and Bouchain. He acknowledges that, had he adopted this plan immediately on his entering the territory of France, he would probably have been more successful. But, at that period he relied on Valenciennes and Condé; and, perhaps, it is to this error that the sequel is to be attributed.

It is, however, difficult to determine at present what would have happened in that case. The character of the events of that period, is such as no prudence could foresee; since they were the sudden acts of the caprice of the people, which were subject to no calculation; and that followed each other with a rapidity to which neither foresight nor talent could oppose any obstacle. And it must be acknowledged that the principle, which so abruptly detached the French soldiers from a General whom they had previously adored, has an aspect that cannot be regarded without approbation. They were in arms for the liberty of their country. They saw their General treat with the enemy. They

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thought

thought themselves betrayed, and they passed from an esteem for their General, to the hatred of him. They were not informed of the purport of his negotiations, nor of the care the General had taken in that treaty, of the interests, and honor of his country. He had not been able to do more, with respect to his troops, than to state to them in general terms the necessity of changing the government, and putting an end to anarchy. They applauded the design; but, as the General had not aided his plan by seductions, nor by terrors, the first impression wore easily away; and the activity of the Jacobins, more constant, more vigilant, and of a nature much more adapted to make impressions upon them, was employed with the utmost success. The grossest calumny takes root speedily in the minds of men; but, more than in any other time, in a period agitated by the demon of anarchy. Suspicion ripens in times of revolution. The word *Traitor* being once pronounced, the multitude endeavoured to find, in the definition of this word, the exact portrait of the General, whom proclamations, but still more the baser intrigues of corruption, devoted

devoted to disgrace. His prudence was now artifice; his love of the public welfare, personal ambition; and assilence dictated by his judgment, knavery. One quarter of an hour employed in the concealed labour of falsehood, supported by the powerful engine of corruption, effaced all sober reflection in men, whose condition precludes them from much thought, and who delight in barbarous and bloody scenes.

If we coolly examine the progress of this revolution, we shall see that the activity of the *Guillotine* is the motive of the high patriotism of the French. The spectacle of severed heads, of torn limbs, carried in procession throughout Paris and other cities, has begotten a terror in some, and in the rest an audacious barbarity; and in both cases has produced a decisive effect, leading the former by fear, and and the latter by the necessity of providing for their impunity, to the endless multiplication of murders. The consequence is, that the blood spilt by this dreadful engine has converted the nation into a mass capable of effecting astonishing objects.

Frenchmen, do not be led to suppose that the indulgence with which Dumourier judges you,

you, is an eulogium on your conduct. He detests your crimes. He regards the species of liberty you enjoy, as wild and incompatible with the interests of society; and he would rather perish on your unjust and permanent scaffold, than be the apologist or partaker of your phrenzy!

This digression faithfully paints the feelings of Dumourier's mind, at the dreadful period which perhaps decided the fate of France. Agitated by the various passions springing from his situation, but still directed by principles, he resisted the temptations of ambition. His justice would not permit him to be Cromwell, nor Monk, nor Coriolanus. His power was extreme, but his wishes moderate. And it is now a consolation to him, that he is unfortunate rather than criminal.

Dumourier received various reports every instant, respecting the disposition of the garrison of Condé. Previous to his moving with his army to Orchies, he saw the necessity of assuring himself perfectly of Condé; in order to arrange the movements of the Imperialists, his treaty with whom he dared not avow, till he should have made a declaration to his troops

troops of his ultimate views, and should have commenced his march to Paris.

On the morning of the 4th, he departed from St. Amand for Condé. He had left General Thouvenot at St. Amand, to regulate various details relative to his projected movement, and to watch the public temper. An escort of fifty hussars, which he ordered to attend him, not arriving as he expected, and the time for his conference with the Prince of Cobourg approaching, he left one of his aids-de-camp to follow him with the escort, and departed with the Duke de Chartres, Colonel Thouvenot, Colonel Montjoye, some aids-de-camp, and eight hussars; forming together a company of about thirty persons.

Dumourier proceeded toward Condé without any apprehension, his thoughts being deeply engaged on subjects far different from the fatal event which was about to arrive, and of which he had not the least presentiment.

Being within half a league of Condé, between Fresnes and Doumet, he met an officer dispatched by General Neuilly, to inform him that the garrison were in the greatest fermentation, and that it would not be prudent

dent for him to enter the place, till the commotion should have ended, whether it should be in his favor, or against him. Dumourier sent back the officer with an order to General Neuilly, to send the 18th regiment of cavalry to Doumet to escort him.

He had a little before overtaken a column of three battalions of volunteers, marching toward Condé, with their baggage and artillery. Surprised at this march, for which he had given no orders, he demanded of the officers where they were going. They answered to Valenciennes, and he observed to them, that they had turned their back on Valenciennes, and were proceeding to Condé. At this time he was in the midst of them, and had stopped by the side of a ditch to suffer them to pass. He does not conceive why they did not then arrest him.

While they were yet in sight it was that General Neuilly's messenger arrived. Then comparing in his mind the tumult of the garrison of Condé, and the unexpected march of these three battalions, he withdrew an hundred paces from the high road, with a design of entering the first house in Doumet,

for

for the purpose of writing a formal order to these three battalions, to return to the camp of Bruille, to which they belonged.

At this instant, the head of the column suddenly quitted the high road, and ran toward him, uttering dreadful cries. He then remounted his horse, and proceeded at a moderate pace toward a broad ditch, on the other side of which was a marshy ground. Shouts, insults, reproaches, and above all the words, *stop, stop*, forced him to pass the ditch. His horse having refused to take it, he was obliged to clear it on foot. He was no sooner on the other side, than a discharge of muskets succeeded the former tumultuous cries. The whole column instantly was in motion; the head and the centre endeavouring to overtake him, and the rear quitting the high road with equal rapidity, to get between him and the camp of Bruille, which he was endeavouring to regain.

He was now in the most eminent danger. He was on foot. The Baron de Scomberg threw himself from his horse, and insisted on the general's mounting, though with the certain sacrifice of his own life. The general refused,

refused. At length he mounted a horse belonging to a domestic of the Duke de Chartres, who, being extremely active, fled on foot. Dumourier's horse was taken and led in triumph to Valenciennes. Two hussars were killed, as well as two of the general's domestics, one of whom carried his great coat. Colonel Thouvenot had two horses killed under him, and saved himself at last by mounting behind the faithful Baptiste, who also lost two horses. The unfortunate Cantin, the general's secretary, was taken and perished on a scaffold. This young man possessed great understanding, courage, fidelity, and patriotism. The three battalions fired more than ten thousand ball.

The general, unable to regain his camp, proceeded along the Scheld, and arrived, still pursued though not so closely, at a ferry, a little distance from the village of Wihers, which was situated on the Imperial territory. He passed the river, accompanied by five other persons. The remainder gained the camp of Maulde, through a discharge of musketry. As soon as the general had passed the river, he proceeded on foot through a morass, to a neighbouring

neighbouring house; where, at first, he was refused admittance, but on announcing his name was immediately received by the worthy owner. Thence he continued his route on foot to Bury, where was quartered a division of the Imperial regiment of dragoons of la Tour. Here he wrote to Colonel Mack, and took some refreshment, of which he stood greatly in need. He was already joined by the faithful Baptiste, who passing through the whole of the camp, had turned by Mortagne, and had every where spread an alarm.

Dumourier learnt from Baptiste, and other persons during the course of the day, that the designs of the three battalions were entirely unknown to the troops; that, on the news of their desertion and attempt to murder the general being spread, the strongest indignation was expressed by the soldiery; and that the escort of hussars and some other horse had pursued the three battalions, who, suddenly wheeling, had fled to Valenciennes. Baptiste added, that the whole camp was in a state of the greatest inquietude, and importunately demanded the return of the general.

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It was now too late to rejoin his army, and it was necessary that he should wait for Colonel Mack, to whom he owed an account of the reason of his failing in the appointment of the morning. That officer arrived in the evening ; and Dumourier having related to him the attempt which had been made on his person, observed, that this was the crime of individuals, which far from corrupting the disposition of his troops, would necessarily strengthen their attachment to their General, and destroy all their remaining connection with the Anarchists ; that consequently, far from being discouraged, his design was to return to his camp by day-break the following morning, to put himself at the head of his soldiers who loudly demanded his return, and to pursue his plan openly and with the utmost vigour.

Colonel Mack, to whom the military virtues were familiar, has since acknowledged that this species of courage then appeared to him more astonishing than that which is displayed in the dangers of a battle. Had he then seen all the soul of Dumourier, he would have found this apparent security mingled

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with apprehension, excited by the example and fate of la Fayette. But the general's resolution was taken. He resolved to sacrifice himself throughout; and would not give his army occasion to say, that the desertion was on his part, or that, being recalled by his soldiers, he had resisted their wishes.

Dumourier passed part of the night in digesting, with Colonel Mack, the proclamation of the Prince of Cobourg, which appeared on the 5th of April, with that of General Dumourier. The Imperial general in his proclamation declared, that he was now no more than an auxiliary in the war, against the Anarchists of France; that it was not the intention of his sovereign to make conquests, but to co-operate, in restoring peace and order to France, with General Dumourier, whose principles, as they were expressed in his proclamation, he adopted.

It was again agreed by Colonel Mack, and Dumourier, that, as soon as the latter should be master of Condé, he should deliver it to the Austrians, in order to serve as a magazine and place of arms for the imperial army.

army, in the case of aid being demanded by Dumourier; that he should be instantly furnished with such succours as he should demand; that he should specify the number of infantry and cavalry to be granted him, the mode in which these should serve, whether by a junction with his troops, or by making one or more separate diversions in behalf of the cause; that, however, Dumourier should not call for succours but in case of absolute need, it being more agreeable to the mutual object of the parties, that he should endeavour to accomplish it, by his own troops only; and that, in case of his being able to do so, the Imperialists should remain neuter, and should not pass the frontiers of France.

The proclamation of the Prince of Coburg, made in consequence of this negotiation, has been condemned, but unjustly. Of what real advantage had it not been to the Imperialists, and what solid glory had they not acquired, if, by enabling Dumourier to march to Paris, they could by this noble moderation have spared the blood and treasure that will be wasted in this quarrel, for which the towns that may be acquired with

infinite difficulty will be no manner of compensation!

It is to be feared that an avidity for conquests among the belligerent powers is the real obstacle to the termination of this destructive war. By this passion they were prevented from seizing upon the occasion offered, by the departure of General Dumourier, and the consequent annihilation of his army, of pressing forward to Paris. The combined powers have since lost their time in making a methodical war, while the French have been able to recover themselves, and their armies have become more numerous, and better disciplined.

On the 5th of April at day-break, Dumourier proceeded with an escort of fifty Imperial dragoons to the advanced guard of his camp at Maulde, where he was received with the greatest joy. He harangued the several corps, by whom he was answered with expressions of affection. Notwithstanding, he remarked that there were some indications of a contrary spirit, and several factious groupes assembled in different parts.

His next design was to go to St. Amand, to prepare for the movement of his troops
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to Orchies, according to his former plan. As he was entering the city, one of his Aids-de-camp came toward him on the full gallop, and informed him that during the night the corps of artillery, excited by the emissaries of Valenciennes, who had spread the report that the general was drowned in the Scheldt in flying to the enemy, had sent a deputation to Valenciennes, and that on the return of their deputies they had instantly rose upon their generals, driven them from the place, and were preparing to march to Valenciennes.

Dumourier had with him, two squadrons of the regiment of Berchiny, a squadron of the hussars of Saxe, fifty cuirassiers, and a squadron of the dragoons of Bourbon. Yielding to his emotions of passion, he resolved to fall upon St. Amand with this body of cavalry. His officers, however, represented the danger and inutility of this step, as he had no infantry at hand, and would subject his escort to be mown down by the artillery. He gave way to their reasoning. He learnt shortly after that the corps of artillery went to Valenciennes. The money belonging to

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the army and the equipages of the officers remaining in the city without guard, he commanded them to be conducted to Rumegies, at the distance of a league from his camp, on the road to Orchies; that village being protected by a part of his advanced guard cantoned there.

The corps of artillery was the flower, and strength of the French army. Feeling its importance, it abounded more than the others in clubs and orators, and indeed might pass for the Pretorian guard of the revolution. When its desertion was known in the two camps, part of the troops followed, and confusion and dismay were spread among the rest. Several of the general officers who waited for the opportunity were eager to lead entire divisions to Valenciennes. Those who still remained attached to the person, or principles of Dumourier, instead of shewing themselves to their troops, and setting an example of courage, were struck with terror, concealed themselves, or thought only of their own safety. General la Marliere had been among the most forward of the enemies of Anarchy, and possessed the entire confidence

confidence of General Valence; who, when he departed for Bruffels, confided the whole of his baggage and effects to him, with a request that he would send them after Valence to Tournay. La Marliere appropriated the money, horses, and property of his general to his own use, and deserted to Valenciennes.

Dumourier was at Rumegies, dictating orders to be issued to the different parts of the army, when he heard of the defection of the troops in camp. Nothing was left him now but to provide for his personal safety. He mounted his horse, attended by General Thouvenot and his brother the colonel, the Duke de Chartres, colonel Montjoye, and Lieutenant-colonel Barrois, two or three others of his staff, and some Aids-de-Camp, having no escort; and retiring to Tournay alighted at the quarters of General Clairfayt. He was followed in about an hour afterward, by fifty Cuirassiers, half a squadron of the hussars of Saxe, and the whole of the regiment of Berchiny. Those brave and worthy men brought with them the equipages belonging to the general and the staff officers, excepting the saddle horses of

the general, which were stolen by one of his grooms, who joined the anarchists.

The troops of which we have just spoken, and a few others, that arrived shortly afterward, amounting to about seven hundred horse, and eight hundred infantry, followed the General without any solicitation on his part; and this circumstance renders him the more anxious respecting the fate of those men, the companions of his former glory, and of his last disgrace.

Dumourier in retiring from France invited no one to follow him. His plan had totally failed, and a few men more or less on either side would not influence events. The individuals attached to his cause had ties of family and of interest in France, and he resolved not to multiply misfortunes without benefit. Those who followed him, therefore, had the real merit of being guided by principle.

In the confusion that succeeded the General's departure, none of the orders that had been issued were executed. Lieutenant-general Vouillé, who commanded the advanced guard, did not receive the order of withdrawing

drawing it within the camp of Maulde till the 6th, when it was no longer in his power. This General retired to Tournay, as did also Major-general Neuilly, who had abandoned Condé, Major-general de Bannes, Second, and de Dumas, and some of the principal officers of the battalions of Volunteers; where they were afterward joined by Lieutenant-general Maraffé Major Generals, Ruault and Berneron, and Colonel Arnau-din.

The treasury of the Army contained two millions of livres in specie. It had been carried from St. Amand to Furnes, between Condé and Valenciennes, by a battalion of Chasseurs, who at first deliberated respecting the dividing of it among themselves, but afterward being likely to quarrel, in order to avoid the bloodshed that would ensue, made a merit of their patriotism and conducted it to Valenciennes. Soliva, a commissary of the army of the Ardennes, pursued these troops with a squadron of the Dragoons of Bourbon, retook the money on the Glacis of Valenciennes, and led it back to Furnes; but being pressed by new battalions was

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again obliged to abandon it. Soliva and the dragoons retired by Mons. They might have brought off the money had they passed by Bruille, and Mortagne, but the confusion of the moment prevented recollection and foresight. If the treasury of the army had been saved, the General's situation had been very different; and the little army that followed his fortunes, would have increased rapidly, being in a state to pay them, instead of being as he really was, without money. This circumstance proves, that the pay of the army was not embezzled by him, nor employed as a means of corruption. Dumourier placed little confidence in means of corruption, in which as the leader of a party his conduct was greatly erroneous.

Dumourier had not the qualities that was requisite for the leader of a party. It is probable that he would have filled the station of a General or an Ambassador with success, under a stable government, whether monarchical, or republican. But the violent state of things in France, destructive of all his preconceived ideas of justice, and injustice, threw him entirely out of his sphere. His activity,
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so greatly spoken of even by his enemies, was repressed by his dread of committing crimes; and he preferred his own esteem to success. Thus in his first reflections, after his retreat among the Imperialists, he saw the cause of his failure in himself, but he felicitated himself on the fact. To have swayed the fortune of France, had undoubtedly given him a noble place in history; but to have been indebted for it, to the flagitiousness of his conduct, was too severe a condition; and he was happy in resigning one to escape the other.

He invites men of high stations to examine themselves with the same austerity; and moralists, to study the influence which character has on events. Cæsar and Pompey, determined a noble quarrel by noble means, and on both sides were displayed greatness of mind, virtues, and talents. Had those men been surrounded with the lowest vices of the meanest classes of society, they would have fled, or would have fallen victims. It demands a Maaniello to conduct the populace. But when a great nation becomes

becomes an entire populace, neighbouring nations are thrown into the greatest embarrassment; because the electric spirit spreads with more rapidity among the people, than among the higher orders of men.

GENERAL ALPHONSE CLAUDE gave orders for the retention of the French troops in the town of Exau, which was next upon the residence of the French general officer, and Dantonier departed for Lyons accompanied by the Duke de Chartres, Colonel Thevenot, Colonel Monjoye, and Lieutenant Colonel Baton, passing by Bay, to connect measures with the other command- ing the Imperial advanced post, not pre- venting the retreat of both of the French. The Imperialists were taught to their cost that it is certain had they fallen on the French

CHAP.

C H A P. XIV.

Dumourier at Mons.—Establishment of the French at Leuze.—Congress of Antwerp.—Second proclamation of the Prince of Coburg.—Departure of the General for Brussels.

GENERAL Clairfayt gave orders for the reception of the French troops which might arrive, in the villages round the town of Leuze, which was fixed upon for the residence of the French general officers; and Dumourier departed for Mons, accompanied by the Duke de Chartres, Colonel Thouvenot, Colonel Monjoye, and Lieutenant Colonel Barrois, passing by Bury, to concert measures with the officer commanding the Imperial advanced post, for protecting the retreat of such of the French as should join the Imperialists.

The Imperialists were faithful to their truce. It is certain had they fallen on the French

French camps on the 5th of April, they might have utterly destroyed the army. Their conduct was therefore highly honourable ; yet, without incurring the blame of perfidy, perhaps on that day they ought to have made a movement with their army, taking possession of the camp of Maulde, and shewing themselves at St. Amand: they not only would have found no resistance, but probably would have been joined by several battalions of the French, which during more than four and twenty hours, appeared by their movements to be irresolute as to the conduct they should pursue. But however this may be, the fidelity of the Imperialists to their engagements, is to be applauded. Their motives were most worthy, as well as the generosity with which they received the French refugees, who certainly had been among the bravest of their enemies.

Dumourier found Colonel Mack at Bury, from which place, they departed together for Mons, in the general's carriage. It was agreed between them, that the Imperialists should instantly besiege Condé, and that the place should be summoned in the name of
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General Dumourier, who accordingly wrote the summons and sent it the following day to the Imperial head quarters. It was further agreed that a return should be made of the officers and soldiers which accompanied or followed Dumourier; that, considering their having unfortunately lost their military chest, they should receive the pay of their respective ranks, at the rate that officers of the same rank in the Imperial service were paid, and should be placed on the same footing; that a commissary of war belonging to the Imperial army should be attached to these troops, together with a French commissary, to certify the justice of the returns; that an advance should be made from the Imperial treasury of 30,000 florins, which should be put into the hands of the French staff officers for the pay of their troops; that Dumourier should have the rank, and establishment of *Feld-zengmeister* (general of artillery); and that finally, this pay and advance should be only regarded as a loan to the party of Dumourier, and that the general should engage, as soon as any progress should be

be made in France, to reimburse this sum to the Imperial treasury.

It is a consolation to General Dumourier, that the companions of his misfortune continue to enjoy this establishment. Indeed they have, since that period, been subjected to the condition of taking an oath, which was not in the first instance required; but at that period they were the soldiers of a party which no longer exists; and it has been since deemed necessary to demand that security for their fidelity. Dumourier would himself become their pledge with readiness, having throughout the war tried their fidelity, courage, and resignation. Let them accept of this testimony of the esteem and affection of their general, and may they be recompensed for their virtues in contributing to the success of the power whom they will faithfully serve.

In pursuance of these arrangements, Dumourier caused, by the order of the Prince of Cobourg, 10,000 florins to be advanced to the French troops at Leuze; unwilling, through motives of delicacy, to take the whole of the money agreed to be advanced, because in penetrating speedily into France this sum would

would have served till they could have proceeded further into the interior part of the country; and Dumourier appeals to the Prince of Cobourg, Colonel Mack, and the other principal officers of the Imperial army, respecting the clearness and disinterestedness of his conduct. It was further decided, that the general, till he should be employed with his troops, should be provided with quarters, near those of the Prince of Cobourg; and the Imperial head quarters being established at Bouffu, General Dumourier's quarters were fixed at the abbey of St. Ghislain.

Dumourier makes here an avowal of his gratitude to the general officers of the Imperial army, by whom he was treated with distinguished marks of regard, and more particularly by the Archduke Charles, and the Prince of Cobourg. At this time was formed a friendship between Colonel Mack, and Dumourier, which on the part of the latter will never be diminished. Colonel Mack, is an officer of uncommon virtue, and military talents, and the unbounded confidence placed in him by the Imperial army, is the just recompense of his services. It is greatly

to be hoped, for the interest of the House of Austria, that the health of this officer will be restored.

During two days that Dumourier was at Mons, he was treated by the inhabitants in a manner that is flattering to his own honour; and his reception was the same at Tournay, Leuze, and indeed, throughout the whole of that country; these worthy people being sensible of the services he had rendered them, especially on his return from Holland, and during the retreat of his army to France.

It would be injustice not to name an instance of the delicate attention of the Prince of Cobourg to Dumourier's situation. The General seeing a corps of two hundred chasseurs belonging to the emigrants, as they passed through Mons, on their route to join the advanced guard of the army, represented to the Prince of Cobourg, that this mingling of the emigrants with his troops could not but produce fatal effects, especially on entering France; and the Prince of Cobourg instantly gave counter orders to the chasseurs; sending them by Namur, to serve in the advanced guard of the Prince of Hohenloe.

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The Prince of Lambesc-Lorraine testified also to the general his gratitude for the essential service rendered to his house by Dumourier when he was Minister of Foreign Affairs, in preventing an unjust confiscation of his property, and of that of the Princess of Vaudemont.

On the 7th of April, the Prince of Cobourg departed, with Colonel Mack, to attend the Congress, held at Antwerp; from which place he returned on the evening of the 8th. Dumourier passed those two days at Leuze, in the midst of his comrades, whose uneasiness he dissipated by informing them of the establishments made for them by the Imperialists. General Vouillé took the command of these troops; and Dumourier, assisted by General Thouvenot, began to reform them, according to the regulations of the Imperial army; which was the more necessary, as the refugees were composed only of fragments of the different corps: with the exception of the regiment of Berchiny. Dumourier quitted the companions of his misfortunes on the evening of the 8th, and felt some presentiment that he should not return to them. On the morning of the 9th, he arrived at Mons,

where he found the Prince of Cobourg, setting off for his head quarters. Dumourier went there also; and, after treating further on what regarded their mutual interests, he went in the evening to the quarters which had been prepared for him at the abbey of St. Ghislain.

On the morning of the 10th of April, a proclamation of the Prince of Cobourg was brought to Dumourier, dated the 9th, which entirely annulled the former proclamation of the 5th; and declared expressly, that the Prince of Cobourg would thenceforth carry on the war against France, in behalf of his sovereign, and would hold such towns as he might take, by the right of conquest, and on the ground of indemnity.

The emigrants have had the imprudence to rejoice in the issuing of this latter, and to condemn the former. It might be demanded if these emigrants were Frenchmen. But, setting aside the influence of passions, by which not only individuals, but also the governments interested in this war are influenced, it will appear but too true, that the second proclamation of the Prince of Cobourg, in depriving Dumourier's party of all means of acting in concert,

concert, and in setting forth the belligerent powers as rapacious conquerers, has attached the whole of the French armies to the interest of the National Convention, which the greater part of them had previously detested; has compelled the cause of royalty to be forgotten, in the danger of the country; has pointed out the salvation of France as resting on the existence of the Republic; has rallied the different parties round the standard of the national honour; and has certainly been injurious to the success of the campaign, and rendered the issue of the war extremely uncertain.

This second proclamation was issued at the conclusion of the congress at Antwerp, in consequence of the determination of the ministers of the combined powers. Dumourier now saw that his treaty with the Imperialists was entirely destroyed; and, without offering useless complaints of this sudden change in the counsels of the Imperialists, he consulted only his character, and principles, and resolved to sacrifice all his personal interests.

He repaired instantly to the head quarters, and told the Prince of Cobourg frankly, that

he came to thank him for the personal kindnesses he had rendered him, and that he hoped to continue to merit his esteem; that when he entered into a treaty with the Prince of Cobourg, his object was the regeneration of France, and not its dismemberment; that he would not enter into any discussion concerning the motives of the combined powers; but that for his part, he could have no share in lessening the territory of France, or employ either his influence, or his moderate talents, in that task; and that therefore he felt himself obliged to withdraw from the coalition, and must beseech the Prince of Cobourg to grant him a passport.

The Prince of Cobourg could not forebear to express his high esteem of his delicacy. The Arch Duke Charles, and colonel Mack, also expressed their esteem for the general; and he departed for Brussels. Dumourier can have no doubt that, after a direct violation of the principles of the treaty that had taken place, and after an open disavowal of the proclamation issued in consequence of the treaty, his presence must have been embarrassing to the Imperialists, and that they regarded

garded the resolution he took with pleasure. But it was not long that he left them in any perplexity, his resolution was taken the moment he perceived their designs.

Before Dumourier quitted the Imperial army, he had the satisfaction of knowing that his former companions would be continued in their rank and employments. They are well treated and serve in the Imperial army, where assuredly they will support their reputation.

Being arrived at Brussels, he explained the motives of his conduct to the Count de Metternich, the emperor's minister in the Netherlands, who received him with the greatest friendship, and gave him a passport for Germany.

In this place the memoirs of the public life of General Dumourier are concluded.

The remainder of his life has been filled up with difficulties, dangers, persecutions, and calumnies of every kind, of which he may one day render an account to the public. But this history can only interest those who are truly his friends, and they are not many! or, real philosophers, and such are indeed rare.

C H A P. XV.

Conclusion.

SUCH is the series of events in the three of the most disastrous months of General Dumourier's life. In this short period he has experienced all the miseries, and all the dangers, that the weakness and wickedness of man can inflict upon a public character. Calumny and injustice form the outline of this dark picture, which may serve as a lesson to men of every description, and from which philosophy alone can extract those consolatory reflections which propriety of conduct and rectitude of motive supply. He hates, neither those who have defamed his character, nor those who have pursued his life, nor those who have refused him an asylum, and whose ungenerous and ill founded resentment persecutes him wherever he flies. The first, are ignorant of the true state of those facts, which, from their very singularity, are exceedingly liable to misrepresentation. The second, are actuated by
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that spirit of fanaticism, which is reason-proof. The third, are prejudiced by calumny, and consider him as a dangerous character.

The Ministers of foreign courts have given it out, after the Emigrants, that he is a proper object of suspicion, and that they can never be sure he will not veer about and put himself at the head of the French. His proscription, and his three declarations, ought to be a sufficient pledge of his firmness: those three pieces have aised him many enemies by the perverse misconstruction given to his expressions.

He avows that he passionately loves his country, and that he will never hesitate a moment to sacrifice his life to its welfare; but he declares, at the same time, that whilst it is polluted with crimes, and delivered over to the horrors of anarchy, he will never enter it again: that, proscribed, as he is, and an outcast of society, he prefers all the miseries and all the dangers he may incur, to the most splendid situation in which the oppressors of his countrymen, and the inciters of their mad excesses, could place him.

He has been the open enemy of those pow-

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ers who wished to interfere in the internal affairs of his country, both whilst he was a minister, and whilst he was a general, because he was most firmly persuaded, that the Revolution, which was doubtless, expedient and inevitable, would have been accomplished, not only with innocence, but glory, if foreign interference and the open encouragement given to the emigrants, had not exasperated to madness a people by nature impetuous and violent. After licentiousness and anarchy had destroyed every thing in France, he wished to avail himself of the same foreign powers to re-establish order, not merely without injury to his country, but with the most tender regard for its interest and its glory.

When he saw that this became impracticable, he formed the plan of a diversion, by which he conceived he might essentially serve the cause of his country and of Europe. Distrust, or other motives, prevented its execution. He grieves at the protraction of the sufferings of human nature: he sighs impatiently for the termination of this calamitous war, without foreseeing the means of its accomplishment; — for nothing which now takes

takes place in Europe, with respect to France, can be reasoned upon after the common maxims of policy and prudence.

It has been said, that he was bribed over by the Dutch Patriots, and afterward sold to the Prince of Orange a list of the principal conspirators. This absurd imputation appears in a German work on the French Revolution, called *Minerva*, much esteemed for the beauty of its style. The author has certainly been deceived in this, as well as in many other circumstances of General Dumourier's life, which the natural love of the marvellous has constantly magnified and blackened. He declares, that he never possessed a list of the Dutch Patriots, that he knew only a very small party of these refugees in France, that he knew these only because they formed a Batavian Revolutionary Committee at Antwerp; that he does not know the names of any of those who may entertain the same opinions in Holland; that he has never had any communication, either before or since, with the Stadtholder's party; that it is even impossible such a communication should have existed, as that court never forgave the manifesto which

preceded his expedition into Holland; that he never received a bribe; that he is poor, and glories in being so.

He will conclude these Memoirs with some observations on the three classes of French emigrants. Foreigners are surprised, that they should not unite in their distress, because they are unacquainted with their distinguishing characters. Their divisions are a great misfortune, but they are almost without a remedy.

The first class, of which the Princes of the House of Bourbon are the leaders, consists of the old court, the higher order of ecclesiastics, the parliaments, and the principal financial department. Allured by the seductive influence of this party on the one hand, and terrified by the extravagance of the Jacobins on the other, the lower nobles have been induced to join them in military array. This class is composed of pure Royalists; they wish and demand the re-establishment of the ancient monarchy, and, of course, of absolute despotism; and regret the old institutions with all their abuses, institutions which it is impossible should ever re-appear, since a new order of things

things has rendered France no longer the France of former days, but a new nation, requiring, as a new nation, a new moral and political constitution, to re-establish on the broad basis of general utility the security of the government, and the confidence of the people.

The second class, of which Fayette is the apparent leader, consists of the constitutional monarchists, men who desire a great reformation, or rather a total regeneration in the principles and forms of the old government. The greater part of this class were employed in the first National Assembly in the great work of forming the New Constitution; but falling, as they soon did, a sacrifice to the cabals of the people of Paris, and above all to the frantic excesses of the Jacobins, paid dearly for the propagation of those principles of liberty and equality, which, having been originally laid down by themselves without any modification, and taken up by the people in too gross and literal a sense, were pushed to that extravagant extent, which has brought about the subversion of all the estates, and the general anarchy of France.

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The third class, which is scarcely distinguishable from the former, but by the later date of their defection, consists of the military who followed General Dumourier; and all the nobles proscribed on this occasion, who could escape from their country. This class includes also those members of the National Convention who had the courage to vote in favour of Louis XVI. and against all the abominations which resulted from his execution; and who, having attested their wishes in a protest, had the good fortune to escape.

The first class, the most numerous, the most splendid, the most diffused over Europe, and the most favoured by its attentions---by little effectual aid, but great promises, and still oftener by humiliations and caprice, possesses the most decided aversion to the two others; and confounds them in its ignorant presumptions with the Jacobins themselves. The unjust imprisonment of Fayette excites in their bosoms no mercy for that unfortunate General. But against General Dumourier, they level all their rage; and the zeal with which they calumniate his character, augment

ment his distresses, and encourage his universal proscription, is truly surprising.

This class has preserved all its pride and all its pretensions. It will have every thing or nothing. The last success of the Combined Armies fills them with frantic joy; and nothing is heard but offensive schemes of revenge and personal ambition. If the operations of the same armies slacken for a season—they are betrayed, they are deserted, they are undone—and this moment the King of Prussia and his Generals, and the next the Emperor's, are assailed with their loud and unseasonable reproaches. Always extravagant and always disgusting to the people where they reside, who coolly observe their motions, and conclude, with some plausibility, that selfishness is their sole leading principle, they have the presumption to think that all Europe is only armed for their sakes, and that when they re-enter their country, where they will recognize nothing—not even the vestiges of their demolished villas, they shall take possession again of their town-mansions, their country cottages, their elegant luxuries, their domestics, their dependents,

dents, and above all their power and their credit.

The intolerance of this class of emigrants towards the two others, precludes that union which is so essentially necessary in their present unfortunate situation, were it only to excite the attention and compassion of the several States where they have fled for protection, and rove without a settlement. There are notwithstanding in this class, some few individuals of sense borne away in the general mass by their unlucky situation, and the prejudices of their birth, who form an exception to the general rule, and sincerely reprobate the extravagance of the rest, but they are little attended to. This class is divided too, within itself, into factions as active, as intriguing, as full of bickerings and jealousies, as when it glittered at Paris or Versailles. It is a court itinerant, which has lost nothing of its occupation, though deprived of its stability.

The other two classes of emigrants are infinitely more moderate and reasonable, and might soon be brought to coalesce. Fayette and Dumourier, if they met in any other place

place than a prison, would soon understand each other; and the shades of difference, which have hitherto only separated them, perhaps for want of a due explanation, would melt away, and vanish before the common interest of their country, and the common sufferings of themselves. For these two chiefs, and these two classes have both been strenuous for the establishment of liberty in their country, and the reformation of abuses. They have supported with firmness the great cause of human nature, and, if they have differed in the means, they have agreed in the principle.

General Dumourier declares to the emigrants of every description, whom force or inclination has separated from their country, that it is only by a well cemented union they can acquire that consideration, which alone can better their situation at the close of the war, whether they succeed in returning to their country, or whether they are doomed to relinquish it for ever: that it is the advantage of misfortune to purify the mind, and to temper it for the hardier virtues: that it is time to renounce the language of

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prejudice, since it is no longer understood in France: that, that country is more different from the France of 1788, than from Gaul in Julius Cæsar's time; that it even changes every six months; and, that unfortunately the Jacobins have been more prudent in the gradations of their crimes, than the emigrants, who, without giving themselves the trouble to examine the progress of the national genius, build all their schemes on the state of France at the point of time that they left it.

Their unfortunate situation may continue a long time, it may become utterly without a remedy: the worst should always be supposed, that we may not be misled by fallacious expectations. If they don't reform themselves, if they don't persist in shaking off their arrogance, their extravagance, their imprudence, their internal discord, they will soon disgust the people who give them shelter, and whose tempers will infallibly be soured on a thousand occasions by the war; their minds will not be fortified to bear the triumphs of success, or the desperation of a failure: In the first case, they will abuse their return, and
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be driven into a banishment more hopeless than their present one; in the second, they will become the most wretched men upon the face of the earth.

Banishment, like every other condition of human nature, has its advantages. It gives us objects of comparison, of which we should never otherwise have had an idea; it gives us information; it calls forth our energies by its difficulties; it renders us indulgent and sociable; it excites between ourselves and our protectors a reciprocation of sensibility and benevolence. The upright man, the man of wisdom and reflection, brings back from this involuntary pilgrimage a store of those hardy and of those gentle virtues, which qualify him better to benefit his country, and lead to that universal philanthropy which diminishes the dismal effects of national partialities.

General Dumourier gives them another piece of advice, which he carefully observes himself—to be indulgent to their countrymen, and not to revile a whole nation by too indiscriminate reproaches. It is *imprudent*, at least, to brand as rebels twenty millions of

men who rise against a hundred thousand. These twenty millions form such an immense majority, that the hundred thousand are more deserving of the name of rebels. The emigrants of every description, who love their country, and are worthy of returning to it, may fairly—under the dismal apprehension, lest anarchy should produce the total subversion and disorganization of the empire—may fairly detest five or six hundred scoundrels who lead that amiable people astray, and hurry them beyond the reasonable bounds of true liberty, of true patriotism, of feasible equality, and of the possible means of public happiness and order; but they should surely preserve, in misfortune especially, that love for their country which maintains their title to it blessing.

They should never calumniate the nation at large; they may justly lament that the French are blindfolded, and led through crimes into every extravagance. But there is still one point of view which is consolatory to a true Frenchman: he sees through all this anarchy, a most determined courage, and the greatest frankness of opinion. With

these qualities the French may be brought back from their errors; but it is by reason, and not by reproaches, that this can be accomplished. Let those amongst the emigrants whose situation, whose influence, and whose knowledge, may one day call them to the important duty of re-establishing order in France, let these men fit themselves for reclaiming public opinion, by instantly sacrificing their resentment, of whatever nature or however just, and ceasing to exasperate by invectives the whole people of France. The character of that people, may be eclipsed for a time, but will never be entirely obliterated; and what is crime in some few individuals, is energy in the nation at large.

The history of the world does not present an instance of a nation assailed by so many enemies at once, less terrified at the thunder of the charge, or keeping them at bay in every quarter with such obstinate resolution. The last campaign, which was enough to have crushed them at once, only displayed one general mass of valour; and if they yield, the next campaign, they will be subdued, but they will not be degraded. It is

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greatly the interest of the emigrants, that the French should not be despised; for whatever their nation may suffer in the estimation of Europe, will be a loss to themselves. They have already, for the last two years, been guilty of a great mistake in representing to foreign powers that the French armies were contemptible, and utterly incapable of making any resistance. This mistake, which has proved so fatal to the Prussians, has taken away all credit from their reports. Let us never hear such misrepresentations again---they are much too serious.

The French nation, collectively taken, will always be amiable. She is labouring at this moment under a moral distemper, whose dreadful convulsions only render her a greater object of alarm. Foreigners may employ the sword, but her emigrant offspring should only approach her with the soothing accents of persuasion:—it is their interest to do so: their design of superinducing order on that confusion which has driven them from their country, will, otherwise, every month, and every week, become more perfectly hopeless.

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This advice is not the result of base compliance, or personal interest, or ambition, General Dumourier declares, and his Memoirs will prove, that he reprobates the present state of things in France; that he sees in them only the subversion of every rational principle, and the utter impracticability of promoting public happiness; he declares, that he will never warp to such an order of things; and that he would chuse beggary, proscription, wretchedness, and perpetual exile, in preference to any re-establishment in his country that must be purchased by the sacrifice of his moral principles;—but he declares, too, that he loves his countrymen, and that, were he poignarded in their delirium to-morrow, he would breathe out his last accents, in a lamentation of their errors, and a benediction to his country.

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